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Grammar School Classics.

# M. TULLII CICERONIS

## CATO MAJOR SIVE DE SENECTUTE

## LAELIUS SIVE DE AMICITIA,

ET

## EPISTOLAE SELECTAE.

WITH

NOTES, AND AN INDEX,

BY

GEORGE LONG.

NEW EDITION.

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# PREFACE.

"After the child hath learned perfectly the eight parts of speech, let him then learn the right joining together of substantives with adjectives, the noun with the verb, the relative with the antecedent. And in learning farther his syntaxis, by mine advice, he shall not use the common order in common schools, for making of Latines: whereby the child commonly learneth, first, an evil choice of words[1] (and right choice of words, saith Caesar, is the foundation of eloquence); then a wrong placing of words; and, lastly, an ill framing of the sentence, with a perverse judgment, both of words and sentences. These faults, taking once root in youth, be never, or hardly plucked away in age. Moreover, there is no one thing, that hath more, either dulled the wits, or taken away the will of children from learning, than the care they have to satisfy their masters in making of Latines.

"For the scholar is commonly beat for the making, when the master were more worthy to be beat for the mending, or rather marring of the same; the master many times being as ignorant as the child, what to say properly and fitly to the matter.

"Two schoolmasters have set forth in print, either of them a book of such kind of Latines[2], Horman and Whittington. A

[1] Cicero, Brutus, c. 72, where it is said of Caesar—"qui etiam in maximis occupationibus quum ad te ipsum (inquit, in me intuens) de ratione loquendi accuratissime scripserit, primoque in libro dixerit verborum delectum originem esse eloquentiae," &c. Compare Suetonius, Caesar, 56.

[2] I have formerly seen Mr. Horman's book, who was master of Eton school. The book itself could be of no great use, for, as I remember, 'twas only a collection of *single sentences*, without order or method, put into Latine. *(Upton's note.)*

child shall learn of the better of them, that which another day, if he be wise and come to judgment, he must be fain to unlearn again. There is a way touched in the[3] first book of Cicero de Oratore, which wisely brought into schools, truly taught, and constantly used, would not only take wholly away this butcherly fear in making of Latines, but would also with ease and pleasure, and in short time, as I know by good experience, work a true choice and placing of words, a right ordering of sentences, an easy understanding of the tongue, a readiness to speak, a facility to write, a true judgment both of his own and other men's doings, what tongue soever he doth use.

"The way is this. After the three concordances learned, as I touched before, let the master read unto him the Epistles of Cicero, gathered together, and chosen out by Sturmius for the capacity of children.

"First, let him teach the child cheerfully and plainly the cause and matter of the letter; then, let him construe it into English, so oft, as the child may easily carry away the understanding of it; lastly, parse it over perfectly. This done thus, let the child, by and by, both construe and parse it over again; so that it may appear, that the child doubteth in nothing that his master taught him before. After this, the child must take a paper book, and sitting in some place, where no man shall prompt him, by himself, let him translate into English his former lesson. Then showing it to his master, let the master take from him his Latin book, and pausing an hour at the least, then let the child translate his own English into Latin again in another paper book. When the child bringeth it turned into Latin, the master must compare it with Tully's book, and lay them both together;

[3] De Oratore, i. 34. "Postea mihi placuit, eoque sum usus adolescens, ut summorum oratorum Graecas orationes explicarem, quibus lectis hoc assequebar ut, cum ea quae legerem Graece Latine redderem, non solum optimis verbis uterer et tamen usitatis, sed etiam exprimerem quaedam verba imitando quae nova nostris essent, dummodo essent idonea." Cicero says nothing of turning back his Latin into Greek, for his object was to improve his Latin style. The Roman writers improved their tongue chiefly by translations from the Greek; and the translation from Latin and Greek authors has been one of the modes of improving modern languages, as Gilbert Burnet remarks in the preface to his translation of More's Utopia.

and where the child doth well, either in chusing or true placing Tully's words, let the master praise him, and say, 'Here you do well.' For, I assure you, there is no such whetstone to sharpen a good wit, and encourage a will to learning, as is praise.

"But if the child miss, either in forgetting a word, or in changing a good with a worse, or misordering the sentence, I would not have the master either frown or chide with him it the child have done his diligence, and used no truandship therein. For I know by good experience, that a child shall take more profit of two faults gently warned of, than of four things rightly hit; for then the master shall have good occasion to say unto him, 'Tully would have used such a word, not this: Tully would have placed this word here, not there; would have used this case, this number, this person, this degree, this gender; he would have used this mood, this tense, this simple rather than this compound; this adverb here, not there; he would have ended the sentence with this verb, not with that noun or participle,' &c.

"In these few lines I have wrapped up the most tedious part of grammar, and also the ground of almost all the rules, that are so busily taught by the master, and so hardly learnt by the scholar in all common schools; which after this sort, the master shall teach without all error, and the scholar shall learn without great pain; the master being led by so sure a guide, and the scholar being brought into so plain and easy a way. And therefore we do not contemn rules, but we gladly teach rules, and teach them more plainly, sensibly, and orderly, than they be commonly taught in common schools. For when the master shall compare Tully's book with the scholar's translation, let the master at the first lead and teach his scholar to join the rules of his grammar book with the examples of his present lesson, until the scholar by himself be able to fetch out of his grammar every rule for every example; so as the grammar book be ever in the scholar's hand, and also used of him as a dictionary for every present use. This is a lively and perfect way of teaching of rules; where the common way used in common schools, to read the grammar alone by itself, is tedious for the master, hard for the scholar, cold and uncomfortable for them both.

"*Let your scholar* be never afraid to ask you any doubt, but

use discreetly the best allurements you can to encourage him to the same; least his overmuch fearing of you drive him to seek some misorderly shift; as to seek to be helped by some other book, or to be prompted by some other scholar; and so go about to beguile you much and himself more.

"With this way of good understanding the matter, plain construing, diligent parsing, daily translating, cheerful admonishing, and heedful amending of faults, never leaving behind just praise for well doing, I would have the scholar brought up withal, till he had read and translated over the first book of Epistles chosen out by Sturmius, with a good piece of a comedy of Terence also.

"All this while, by mine advice, the child shall use to speak no Latin; for, as Cicero saith in like matter, with like words, 'loquendo male loqui discunt;' and that excellent learned man, G. Budaeus, in his Greek Commentaries, sore complaineth, that when he began to learn the Latin tongue, use of speaking Latin at the table and elsewhere unadvisedly, did bring him to such an evil choice of words, to such a crooked framing of sentences, that no one thing did hurt or hinder him more all the days of his life afterwards, both for readiness in speaking and also good judgment in writing.

"In very deed [4], if children were brought up in such an house or such a school, where the Latin tongue were properly and perfectly spoken, as Tib. and C. Gracchi were brought up in their mother Cornelia's house, surely then the daily use of speaking were the best and readiest way to learn the Latin tongue. But now, commonly in the best schools in England, for words, right choice is smally regarded, true property wholly neglected, confusion is brought in, barbarousness is bred up so in young wits, as afterward they be not only marred for speaking, but also

[4] Cicero, Brutus, c. 58. "Sed magni interest quos quisque audiat quotidie domi, quibuscum loquatur a puero, quemadmodum patres, paedagogi, matres etiam loquantur. Legimus epistolas Corneliae matris Gracchorum: apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos quam in sermone matris." In another passage of the Brutus (c. 27) he speaks again of the care of this Roman matron about her son's education: "Fuit Gracchus diligentia *Corneliae matris a puero* doctus et Graecis literis eruditus; nam semper *habuit exquisitos e Graecia* magistros."

corrupted in judgment, as with much ado, or never at all, they be brought to the right frame again.

"Yet all men covet to have their children speak Latin, and so do I very earnestly too. We both have one purpose, we agree in desire, we wish one end; but we differ somewhat in order, and way, that leadeth rightly to that end."

This passage is from the First Book of "The Schoolmaster; or, a plain and perfect Way of teaching Children to understand, write, and speak the Latin Tongue, by Roger Ascham, Esquire, Preceptor to her Majesty Queen Elizabeth. Now corrected and revis'd, with an addition of explanatory Notes, by the Reverend Mr. James Upton, A.M., Rector of Brimpton, in Somersetshire; and late fellow of King's College, Cambridge." (London, 1711.)

This passage from Ascham and another which follows have been printed because the book is not very well known, and it seemed best to let Ascham explain his method in his own language. The parts which I have printed are sufficient to show what his method is.

It would be thought a great thing if a teacher could accomplish what Ascham promises; and what, according to his own account, he performed. At present, it cannot be said that children generally do learn either to understand or write the Latin tongue, much less to speak it. The writing and speaking of Latin are indeed not much used, but a great deal of time is spent over trying to understand the Latin tongue and also to write it; and it is generally agreed that few out of many learn to read a Latin author with ease and profit, and fewer still, to write Latin well. To read the Latin authors with profit, it is necessary to know the language, and to understand the matter. The language may be learned by boys to a certain extent, though the perfect knowledge of any language requires the study of mature years. While a boy is learning the Latin language, he may learn something of the matter which his author treats of. In reading Caesar's Commentaries he will learn something of the geography of Gaul, Italy, and Britain, something of Roman history and Roman institutions; and in reading Cicero's Letters and Orations he will learn something more of Roman matters, though there will be many things which he will *not comprehend fully,* until he is of riper years. It is plain

that as the matter of an author creates a difficulty, a boy must be first instructed in those authors or parts of authors, which present the fewest difficulties for the matter, and are written in an easy and simple style.

If teachers of Latin knew that language as well as a good teacher of French or of any other modern tongue knows his own language, the teaching of Latin would be comparatively easy. And yet the usual methods of teaching a modern language are bad, and the amount that is learned is often small for the time and labour; and this, mainly because teachers of foreign languages follow nearly the same methods that are followed in teaching Latin, many of which are bad. A man may wish to learn a foreign language in order to be able to write it and speak it; but if he follow no other method than reading, he will never accomplish his object. If he will first acquire the power of writing and speaking a language, he can easily learn to read it. The power of reading or translating a foreign language does not give the power of writing or speaking it, not even in the smallest degree, as all who have tried know by experience. A man may have even a very exact knowledge of a foreign tongue for the purpose of reading and understanding, and yet may be unable to construct a single sentence or to utter a single phrase in conversation; which proves that to learn to express a foreign language in our own tongue is only learning it under one aspect; and that to express our own language or our own ideas in another tongue is quite a different thing. Indeed so different are the two things, that a person may learn by ear to speak a modern language fluently, and yet he may have only a slight knowledge of it; for the language of common conversation is very limited. If he has learned to write the language so as to express himself with ease on the ordinary matters of life, as in a letter or the like, he will have a greater command of the language; but even then, his knowledge will be superficial without a careful study of the best writers.

It is true that the writing of exercises is one of the means now employed for the teaching of modern languages, but the writing of exercises may be an impediment to learning a language. *The method of the* exercises may be as bad and as ill adapted *to the object, as it* would be for a man to learn a foreign tongue

by habitual converse with persons who spoke it ill. By such converse a man may certainly learn to speak fluently and ill, as many do[5]. A boy also by writing exercises may learn to write Latin with some facility, and ill; for ease in doing a thing, well or ill, requires practice. Now the "making of Latines" which leads to such a result is one of the ill consequences of teaching, of which Ascham complains in his day; and the same complaint may be made now. Budaeus lamented the ill consequences of the use of speaking Latin unadvisedly; and we may complain of the ill consequences of writing it unadvisedly; for the bad choice of words and the bad order of a boy's early exercises make a deeper impression than the corrections of the master, even if we suppose the exercises to be always corrected as they ought to be: and to suppose this would be very extravagant indeed.

There may be several methods of exercises in modern languages, by which a boy may learn to write correctly; but in principle good exercises cannot differ much. A method which has been tried with success, and is founded on a clear principle, is shown in the late Mr. Wittich's German Exercises, and his German Tales. The exercises begin with principal sentences, or simple propositions, a noun, the verb 'to be,' and an adjective or other predicate. The most necessary words are supplied at the foot of the page. All the forms of simple sentences in the German language are successively presented in the exercises, and by writing these exercises, in which scarcely any error can be made, the learner masters one part and the easiest part of the language, but yet the most important, as being the foundation of all his future knowledge. He then proceeds to the exercises in which subordinate or dependent sentences occur, and when he has written all these, and also the second part of the exercises, he has gone through nearly every form of expression which exists in the language. While he is writing the exercises, he may read the German tales, which are constructed on the same principle as the exercises. A learner who has gone through the

[5] This is the judgment of one of the greatest masters in his art: "Vere enim etiam illud dicitur, perverse dicere homines perverse dicendo facillime consequi." *Cic. De Orat.* i. 33. What must be the consequence of the '*perverse scribendo?*'

exercises and the tales in the manner which the author recommends, is able to write and speak the German language, and to read an easy author. The method requires perseverance, regularity, and some time; but if it is followed as Mr. Wittich directs, any boy of ordinary capacity will have acquired that command over the German language which very few possess. I do not believe that any system of writing Latin exercises now in use would produce a similar result; and yet it is easier to learn to write Latin, as well as a modern can learn to write it, than to learn to write German [6].

Latin might be learned in the same way, if a teacher had as great command over it, as a German has over his own language; but this is impossible, and some other way must be attempted. A teacher's knowledge of Latin is founded on a few Latin authors, and his own judgment is no authority; he must always appeal to his originals. It is therefore necessary that the Latin language must be learned from Latin authors, who furnish the matter of the language both for the teacher and the learner. The direct object is not to learn to write Latin; it is to be able to read the authors with ease; and the means of accomplishing this must be some method that shall attain the object, and at the same time be a good discipline for the learner. A good discipline has not only the advantage of being good as a discipline, but it will secure the object which we have in view. A bad discipline will generally fail altogether; and those who learn in spite of it, throw away much of their time and labour: they learn much which, as Ascham says, they will afterwards be glad to unlearn.

Ascham's method supposes a certain amount of knowledge, but he does not explain how this is to be acquired. A boy must in some way master the various forms of declension and conjugation. He may do it by committing them to memory and writing out examples on paper. This is a dull and tiresome task;

[6] Mr. Wittich's new method of learning a modern language was first explained by himself in the Journal of Education, vol. iv. p. 209. His method is further explained in his "German for Beginners; or, Progressive Exercises in the German Language," third edition, London, 1845; and in his "German Tales," London, 1845. Mr. Wittich published a Key to his *Exercises, and also a* German Grammar.

but the memory of boys is the chief faculty to be used when they are young, and they will get through this labour in a reasonable time. It is however necessary that a teacher should avoid the common error of making boys decline nouns with what are called the signs of the cases; for if this is done, the boy will learn something that he will afterwards have to unlearn; and it is a good principle in teaching, that a child should have no error implanted in him, if we can help it. What is first fixed, whether right or wrong, is very difficult to eradicate. In learning the conjugations also the usual signs or translations should be avoided, as they lead to erroneous notions, particularly in the subjunctive mood. The method adopted in Professor Key's Grammar, is that of conjugating the verbs in connexion with some other Latin words, so as to form a short sentence, of which a translation is given. This method is free from all objection : the boy learns the meaning of the tenses in connexion with other words, and at the same time he begins to get a small vocabulary.

As to the eight parts of speech, as Ascham calls them, there is no use in telling a boy the names of a number of things before he sees them. He cannot comprehend what a preposition is till he sees it used. When he learns the forms of nouns, adjectives, and verbs, he will also learn their names, and he may defer learning the names of the other parts of speech till he meets with them.

The next thing to learn according to Ascham, is "the right joining together of substantives with adjectives, the noun with the verb, the relative with the antecedent," or the three concordances, as he calls them. There is only one way of learning this, which is by examples from Latin authors; and a teacher may find plenty of the simplest sentences in the best Latin authors which will serve this purpose[7]. I say, "in the best Latin authors;" for I would not have the master make them himself. He may select for this purpose as many as he shall think fit, which he must translate to the boy, and he must fully explain every word. He must also translate the sentences in

[7] The first book of Livy will supply abundance of examples; or they may be selected from Cicero with little trouble

such way that the order of the English words shall correspond to the Latin, as far as the two idioms will allow, which in such simple sentences will generally not be difficult; but when this cannot be done, the teacher must give the meaning of the whole Latin sentence in good plain English, without regarding the difference in the order of the words in the two languages, and he must help the boy in the matter by fully explaining the several words and their relation to one another[8]. If he once lets the boy begin to arrange the Latin words in a new order, he has damaged the foundation of his knowledge, he has introduced him to "a wrong placing of words," which is just as injurious in the teaching of Latin, as if a teacher of French or any modern language should let his pupils neglect the right "placing of words." Two or three sentences at first will be enough for a lesson, on which the boys will be examined by the master, and will parse every word. But this is not all; every boy must learn to give the Latin back orally for the English, and must also write it on paper when the master gives out the English. Thus he will learn it both ways. All that he learns will be true. He will acquire a great number of words, and a knowledge of his three concordances. If the master has done his duty by interpreting the short sentences aright, the boy will have acquired, so far as he has gone, a right choice of words, and a right placing of them. So far, if the work is done well, all is clear gain; and the boy has got nothing that is not worth keeping.

One of the chief difficulties of the Latin language is the right use of the pronouns and the prepositions. Now it is easy to select simple sentences, in which the principal uses of the pro-

[8] As the teacher will have some way of translating, which he will consider to be the right way, it is plain that he must teach the boy what this way is; for the boy knows no way till he has either been taught one by his master, or has found out one for himself, which is more likely to be wrong than right. The picking out of the Latin words and arranging them in the English order, cannot be too much condemned. Those who object to the method here recommended, and would call it taking words in the lump, would do well to remember that there is both a wrong and a right *way of taking words* in the lump. Those who do not know how to do it *must not quarrel with* those who do.

nouns and prepositions shall be exemplified; and if the boy is thus made familiar with their use by the examples of the best authors, he will have conquered one of the chief difficulties of the language. A boy who has thus got a pretty good stock of words, a knowledge of the structure of simple sentences, and of the use of the pronouns and prepositions, is ready to proceed upon Ascham's method. It seems a kind of truism to state that a boy can only learn the Latin language from the Latin authors; but if the truth is trite, it is not the less necessary to enforce it, for practically it is disregarded. By Latin authors I mean not scraps or detached sentences, but large consecutive pieces. If a boy could from the first begin, with the teacher's aid, to read a Latin author, he ought to do it: but this is hardly possible, and some preparation of some kind must be made; about the nature of which preparation there may be difference of opinion.

The examination of the forms of the words of a language belongs to that division of grammar, which is called etymology, a term which comprehends both the varieties of form which any given word may undergo, and also the relations of words to other kindred words. A true etymological examination of words leads to a proper classification of them, to a determination of their elementary parts or roots; and by a comparison of the various passages in which they occur, to a determination of their primary and secondary meanings. An examination of the various forms of nouns also leads to a better arrangement of their declensions[9]. By reducing each noun to its crude form, that is, to the form which it has when deprived of the adjuncts of case, the learner perceives what is the true word and what is the accident or modifying part: thus 'lapid' is the true word for 'stone,' of which 'lapis,' 'lapidis,' 'lapidibus,' are the word with its accidence of case. The same remark applies to verbs: 'monĕ,' is the verbal form, which has its tenses, 'moneo,' 'monebam,' 'monebo,' formed by certain additions. The element or root is generally a monosyllable, and sometimes must be traced back through several forms before it can be discovered: as 'tegmentorum' leads to the crude form 'tegmento,' which again leads to 'tegmen;' and a comparison of 'tegmen'

[9] *See Professor* Key's Latin Grammar.

with 'fragmen,' and other like words, shows that 'teg' is the first element; which again appears in 'toga,' 'tectum,' 'tector,' and other words. This mode of examining the forms of a language is now made part of the education of boys in most schools where Latin is taught well. It is one of the great aids towards laying a sound knowledge of the form and meaning of words, and consequently it is essential towards a "right choice of words." The system of crude forms is fully explained in Professor Key's excellent Latin Grammar.

The explaining of the short sentences to the boys may be commenced as soon as they know the forms of the nouns and the verb 'to be;' for numerous sentences may be found in Latin authors, which consist of nothing more than the subject, the verb 'to be,' and a predicate. The boy may be led on to simple sentences containing the verbs of predication, so soon as he has learned the four conjugations; and he may thus be learning something of the structure of a sentence at the same time that he is learning his grammar. This method diminishes the tedium of elementary instruction, while it lays in a good stock of words and of the simple forms of expression; and combined with the exercise of reducing words to their crude forms and roots, and comparing words in which the same root occurs, will furnish some employment for the faculties beyond the exercise of the memory.

As to any other kind of exercises than this here mentioned, there is little to recommend them; and many of these exercises will do a boy much mischief[1]. What has the boy to learn except the Latin tongue? and how is he to learn it except from a Latin author? All that he thus learns is a part of the language, a small part it is true; but still a part of the language; and he learns it without any admixture of error. There is a truth little observed and less practised, which Ascham reminds us of: "All languages, both learned and mother tongues, be

[1] Exercise books are very numerous, and of very different degrees of merit. Some are very bad. There is a good system of exercises, entitled, "Constructive Exercises for teaching the Elements of the Latin Language on a System of Analysis and Synthesis," by John Robson, which has reached a second edition.

gotten, and gotten only by imitation: for as ye use to hear, so ye learn to speak: if ye hear no other, ye speak not yourself; and whom ye only hear, of them ye only learn." That which is true of a living language is true of a dead one, of "the Greek and Latin tongues, the only two learned tongues, which be kept not in common talk, but in private books." (Ascham.) A boy who learns no Latin except good Latin, will know no other. For this reason we would avoid the use of any rules written in Latin, many of which contain barbarous expressions; and though some of these rules may be well enough in point of expression, it is pure waste of time to fill a boy's head with modern Latin, when there is so much better matter at hand to fill it with.

It is here urged that a boy should have none but the plainest sentences, containing the simple proposition, laid before him, or two such sentences united by a conjunction, until he has obtained a good stock of words, and has fully mastered all these simple sentences so as to render the Latin into the English or the English into the Latin indifferently. Above all, let the teacher beware of perplexing him with subordinate or dependent sentences, until this part is fully mastered. The sentences on which he must be exercised should only contain the indicative mood; but there are some sentences which contain only indicative moods which must be excluded from this part of his discipline. How long it may take to do what is here proposed, will depend on the diligence and ability of the master; but it will not be a work of very long time; nor so irksome as the common method.

I have elsewhere suggested that when the pupil has got this necessary knowledge, the master may begin to explain to him the third book of Ovid's Metamorphoses, which contains little more than simple propositions. The learning of this or any other easy book will supply the boy with a large stock of words, the first necessity that he has. The master must explain each lesson fully to the boy, who will afterwards be examined in it, and required to give orally or to write on paper the Latin for any word or any phrase in the lesson that the master may give out in English; and when the lesson is well understood, the

boy must commit it to memory [2]. When the whole book is read in this manner, the boy will be able to read it over again without the previous explanation of the master, and with a little help while he is saying the lesson. Nor must the master chide him, if he is diligent and does his best, even if he fail sometimes. "If your scholar," says Ascham, "do miss sometimes, chide not hastily, for that shall both dull his wit and discourage his diligence; but monish him gently, which shall make him both willing to amend and glad to go forward in love and hope of learning. I have now wished twice or thrice this gentle nature to be in a schoolmaster. And that I have done so, neither by chance nor without some reason, I will now declare at large, why in mine opinion, love is fitter than fear, gentleness better than beating, to bring up a child rightly in learning." And so he goes on to argue in favour of gentleness in teaching, and to discourse against harsh chiding and beating, premising however, as I would do, to prevent mistake, that "I do gladly agree with all good schoolmasters in these points: to have children brought to good perfectness in learning, to all honesty in manners; to have all faults rightly amended; to have every vice severely corrected: but for the order and way that leadeth rightly to these points we somewhat differ." (Ascham.)

It is the fashion in this country for boys to write Latin verses at a very early age, to which, if the method be well conducted, there is not the same objection as there is to their writing Latin prose. The third book of Ovid's Metamorphoses, if well learned, will teach the boy the structure of a Latin hexameter, and will give him a fair stock of words. The practice of repeating the same aloud will form his ear to the verse, so that if the master shall select easy hexameter lines out of Ovid, plainly turned into English, and now and then supply a word, a boy will easily restore the original hexameter, which generally is and always should be nothing more than a simple proposition with some

[2] No method is so efficient towards mastering a language as to commit to memory passages from good authors. Cicero's recommendation was founded on his own practice: "Exercenda est etiam memoria ediscendis ad verbum *quam* plurimis et nostris scriptis et alienis." Cicero, De Orat. i. 34.

poetical embellishment. There is no objection to this sort of exercise, when it is at first limited, as it is almost necessarily, to the forms of simple sentences.

We now suppose the boy far enough advanced to proceed on Ascham's method, which requires little comment. The master must "read unto him" the Latin author: the boy must not be set to learn his lesson by the aid of a dictionary. Ascham mentions no dictionary: possibly there was not one at that time, which was suited to boys: and it would be much better if there were none at present to put into boys' hands, when we consider what they are. A good dictionary is a necessary help, when the boy has made some progress; and the master wants it too. A bad one, used from the beginning, is an insuperable impediment to learning.

There are many of Cicero's epistles to his different friends, which are well adapted to the capacity of boys; and Sturmius did good service in selecting such for the capacity of children. But the teacher must explain the epistles first, as Ascham directs; or he may take Caesar's Gallic war, but let him at first omit the speeches. It is the teacher's business to explain such an author to the boys: it is not his business to hear how they have misunderstood it after hard labour with the dictionary. In old times the teachers taught; now it is a common practice to let boys learn wrong, in order that they may be set right. But boys keep in their head more of their own blundering than of the master's correction; and so they learn much that they must afterwards unlearn. Let then the teacher expound the lesson fully to a boy, leading him to a right choice of English words, and a correct arrangement of them, avoiding all transposition of the Latin in translating, and taking it portion by portion, as it hangs together in the original, a clear, compact, and consistent whole. He will have to say much on the several words for the full explanation of them; but each integral part of a sentence must be translated as a whole; and the difficulty that a boy may have about the several words and their order must be removed by careful parsing and explanation. The Latin text is the matter which the teacher has to work upon: and it is not thoroughly mastered until the boy can render the Latin into *English, or give the Latin* for the English indifferently. A

careful teacher may add something to Ascham's method, slightly modify it; but the principle must remain; which this: that the boy shall learn to construct Latin sentences by careful study of them in a Latin author, by the remarks of h master, and by the imitation of them in rendering the Engli back again into Latin. It will be useful also when he procee to subordinate or dependent sentences, as he must do, when l comes to read Caesar or Cicero, for the boy to have a go grammar to refer to, in which some of the most important rul are clearly laid down, or even a good exercise book. It enough to remark, that many of the grammars in ordinary u will not serve this purpose.

The more exact knowledge of the Latin tongue is acquired l a careful reading of the best writers, by which alone can l learned a right choice of words, a right placing of them[3], and right framing of a sentence. How absurd it is to expect boys learn the right framing of a Latin sentence by the ordina system of exercises, when they can hardly frame one in the own language correctly. Boys begin Latin very early, and early that it is necessary for them to learn as much as can l learned of the language in the way that is nearest to the be mode of learning a modern language, that is, by imitation. A they advance in years and in understanding under the care of good teacher, they begin to examine it critically. It is qui possible for a young boy to acquire a considerable facility i the Latin language, before he is able to examine the constructio of a sentence with much nicety. Indeed if we consider th early age at which Latin is begun, the great waste of time an the hateful nature of the labour, on the common system, would seem to be a better thing for him to learn a modern la

[3] A singular method of teaching the right placing of words is used Ellis's Latin Exercises, and thus explained in the preface: "The Secor Part contains the principal rules of syntax, with short examples to ther the Latin words to which correspond in their arrangement with tl English; with an intention that the scholar should, under his maste direction, endeavour gradually to place them in the Latin order." He to be accustomed to what is wrong, and must gradually endeavour to co *rect his error; and* by a like reason, he must be accustomed to any oth *bad habit, and* must gradually endeavour to correct it.

guage first. If a good French master were to teach the younger boys French on a proper system for a couple of years, they would speak it with facility, write it as well as young boys can write a language, and be better prepared for the study of Latin. A boy who begins Latin at the age of ten, if he has been well prepared, will be able to understand Caesar in a year, if it is explained on Ascham's plan.

It may be said that this system requires better teachers than the great majority of those who profess to teach. But if a teacher has not knowledge enough to teach on this plan or some good plan, can he teach on a bad one? Can he teach by the aid of bad exercise books and indifferent helps of all descriptions, and in no other way? If he cannot teach on Ascham's plan or on some good plan, he cannot teach at all. If it should be said, that this method is more troublesome to the teacher, which I deny, the answer is that he ought to do what he professes. Whether would a man of any sound knowledge, of any taste for learning, however small, rather work at this dull, eternal, unprofitable round of exercises, aids, and helps, or work at the authors themselves, the sole sources of our knowledge? On the score of economy of time and economy of expense much might be said. At present a boy is loaded with a heap of books, and his parents are saddled with expense for lumber which hangs like a load of lead on the boy's understanding, if he has any, and if he has not much, makes him a dunce for life. His labour is not about Latin: it is all about books, which are about Latin. A good course of Latin instruction is cheap: it requires few books. It requires a good master; and those who would have him must pay him well; for he will do what he professes, and save expense in other ways. The boy shall leave his master in utter ignorance of the Hormans and Whittingtons of the day, but well acquainted with Caesar, Cicero, Terence, Ovid, Virgil, Horace, and a few other Romans, whom he will be better pleased to remember than exercise books.

Mr. Wittich, in his remarks on the teaching of German, insists on the great importance of the pupil reading aloud his exercises, when they are corrected, and reading aloud the German tales several times. There is no doubt about the advantage of this system; but it will of course only be practised by more advanced

students, who are bent upon learning. Boys will do very little that they are not required to do. Still it will be a very useful exercise to require the boys, when they have thoroughly mastered a Latin lesson, to read over the Latin aloud and with proper emphasis, so that the master may judge whether they fully understand the lesson as they read it. Indeed it is not too much to require of boys, who have gone once through the first book of Caesar's Gallic War, to commit to memory ten or a dozen chapters, so as to be able to deliver them orally without any fault. Such a practice, combined with the remarks of the master on the order of the words in the daily lessons, will form the ear of the boy to a right order, and lay the foundation of a sound knowledge of the form of a sentence. However much boys may fail, under the usual system, in the right construction of a sentence and the ordering of words, it is certain that they may attain a great proficiency in both by this practice, simply by the exercise of the ear; and they may become tolerably expert in this part of the language before they have attained a correspondent skill in the right choice of words, at least of any other than the ordinary words. For the perfect choice of right words only comes with riper years and much careful reading; as any man may convince himself by a little consideration. The proper choice of words to denote abstract terms and terms of art is learned slowly and with much labour. In fact it is the part of a language which is learned last.

If we consider the power which the Latin language has in varying the order of words in a sentence, so as to express by the same words, differently placed, different shades of meaning, we must admit that the order of the words is as much a matter of careful observation from the first, as any thing else. What would be thought of a German teacher who should not from the first make his pupil observe the difference between the English and the German order? Or we may take another example from the Italian language, which has retained all the force and vigour of the Latin, and acquired powers unknown even to the parent tongue. Biagioli in his Italian Grammar has given a good example of an expression which can be varied seven different ways, each of which has a different meaning. It is this: Rendo me a voi; A voi rendo me; Mi rendo a voi; Rendomi a

voi; A voi mi rendo; Vi rendo me; Rendomivi. All these expressions have a different and very distinct meaning[4]. The Latin is not capable of so much variety; but in a like sentence the relative position of 'tibi,' 'me,' and 'do,' may be varied, and must be varied, in order to express like shades of meaning.

I have already mentioned Mr. Robson's exercise book, which is a work of great merit, and may be used by those who like myself do not adopt his principle of teaching the elementary part of the Latin language by writing exercises. The second edition, besides some other improvements, contains a series of Latin reading lessons, well adapted for the use of beginners. In its present form the work appears to be very well fitted to serve as an introduction to the reading of a good Latin prose author; and better than any thing of the kind that I have seen.

A boy who is taught on Mr. Robson's method would be taught well. His direct object is not to teach a young boy to write Latin, but to give him the knowledge, which he must get in some way, before he can commence reading a Latin author. For it is agreed among all sensible teachers, that a boy should read some good Latin author as soon as he can; Caesar for instance, or parts of Cicero. But it is not agreed which is the easiest and surest method of giving a boy the knowledge which is necessary to enable him to read. I believe the best method is not by writing Latin exercises only, even if the exercises are the best that can be made: and the reasons for this opinion, such as they are, may be collected from various parts of this preface; to which I could add others, if the object were to write a dissertation. To make the writing of Latin, especially for young boys, a direct object, is one of the gross absurdities of modern teaching, only exceeded by the grossness of the material, which is produced and called Latin prose. As I have explained, I would make a boy learn his Latin author both ways, from Latin into English, and from English into Latin, in order that he may know both sides of it. In this way he will acquire a considerable facility of rendering English into Latin, without acquiring a facility in writing bad Latin, which, according to

[4] *Biagioli, Grammaire* Italienne, p. 58. Paris, 1808.

Ellis' ingenious plan, he must acquire for the pleasure of afterwards getting rid of it. I reject altogether the notion of teaching a boy any Latin independent of the book that he is studying. Instead of mastering his author fully and completely, he is busy about the making of 'Latines;' and the more he makes, in the worse plight he is; while the author from whom he ought to learn the language, and whom he should master so as never to forget, occupies less of his time than his own bad Latin. The clear, direct way to an improvement in our classical studies is to abandon the ordinary making of 'Latines;' to adopt Ascham's plan as soon as the boy is prepared for it, and to consider well how he should be so prepared; for that is really the only matter in dispute among good teachers. Further, to abandon all books of exercises which abound in multitudinous rules and fragmentary exercises; to choose as a book of rules to refer a boy to (for I do not reject generalizations, but only the mode of using them), one which is plain and simple, with plenty of good examples well translated, whether such book be a grammar, or some well arranged system of rules with both examples and exercises; and as to the endless niceties and curiosities of a language, to trust to careful reading and a good teacher, for they cannot be learned by rules. If I recommend Ascham's method, it is not that boys may learn to write Latin; it is that they may learn to read it and understand a Latin author well. But at the same time, I shall observe, by way of meeting the objection of those who are so mightily concerned about young boys learning to write Latin, as if the thing were possible, that I expect a pupil, who has been trained in the way which I suggest, and has been saved from the exercise system, though he is not professing to learn to write Latin, to write it better than the boy who has been learning to write bad Latin: and if a pupil so trained, as it is here recommended, chooses to use his own diligence, when he has attained proper years, he shall with reasonable pains write Latin with ease, as well as it can be written now-a-days. For I maintain that the writing of Latin well, if that is the object proposed, can only be attained by a student who has already made considerable progress in the language, and has reached to years of understanding; and that the *exercise system* generally, so far from preparing him to write

Latin, is a direct obstacle to the acquisition of this power. But let us return to Ascham.

The following passage is from the second book of the Schoolmaster:

"After that your scholar, as I said before, shall come indeed, first to a ready perfectness in translating, then to a ripe and skilful choice in marking out his six [5] points; as,

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Proprium. | 4. Contrarium. |
| 2. Translatum. | 5. Diversum. |
| 3. Synonymum. | 6. Phrases. |

Then take this order with him: read daily unto him some book of Tully, as the third book of Epistles, chosen out by Sturmius, De Amicitia, De Senectute, or that excellent epistle containing almost the whole first book Ad Q. Fratrem; some comedy of Terence or Plautus. But in Plautus skilful choice must be used by the master, to train his scholar to a judgment in cutting out perfectly over-old and improper words. Caesar's Commentaries are to be read with all curiosity, wherein especially (without all exception to be made either by friend or foe) is seen the unspotted propriety of the Latin tongue, even when it was, as the Grecians say, in ἀκμῇ, that is, at the highest pitch of all perfectness; or some orations of T. Livius, such as be both longest and plainest.

"These books I would have him read now a good deal at every lecture; for he shall not now use daily translation, but only construe again, and parse, where ye suspect is any need: yet let him not omit in these books his former exercise, in marking diligently, and writing orderly out of his six points; and for translating, use you yourself every second or third day to chuse out some Epistle ad Atticum, some notable commonplace out of his Orations, or some other part of Tully by your discretion, which your scholar may not know where to find; and translate it you yourself into plain natural English, and then give it him to translate into Latin again, allowing him good space and time to do it both with diligent heed and good advisement.

[5] *Those who wish to* know what Ascham means by his six points must *consult the first part of* the Schoolmaster. This part of his system seems to *be of little or no value.*

"Here his wit shall be new set on work; his judgment, for right choice, truely tried; his memory for sure retaining, better exercised, than by learning any thing without the book; and here how much he hath profited, shall plainly appear. When he bringeth it translated unto you, bring you forth the place of Tully; lay them together, compare the one with the other; commend his good choice and right placing of words; show his faults gently, but blame them not over sharply; for of such missings, gently admonished of, proceedeth glad and good heed-taking; of good heed-taking springeth chiefly knowledge, which after groweth to perfectness, if this order be diligently used by the scholar, and gently handled by the master. For here shall all the hard points of grammar, both easily and surely be learned up; which scholars in common schools, by making of Latines, be groping at with care, and fear, and yet in many years they scarce can reach unto them[6].

"I remember when I was young, in the north they went to the grammar school little children; they came from thence great lubbers, always learning, and little profiting; learning without[7] book every thing, understanding within the book little or nothing. Their whole knowledge by learning without the book, was tied only to their tongue and lips, and never ascended to the brain and head; and therefore was soon spit out of the mouth again. They were as men always going, but ever out of the way. And why? For their whole labour; or rather great toil without order, was even vain idleness without profit. Indeed, they took great pains about learning, but employed small labour in learning; when by this way prescribed in this book, being

[6] There is no difficulty in doing this with a class. The master looks over the exercises by himself, marks the errors, and returns to each boy his exercise. Then he takes the original in his hand, and reads it over slowly sentence by sentence before the class, remarking on any prevalent errors in the exercises, and commenting on any peculiarity in the sentence. The boys take down the Latin on paper, which is itself a good exercise, and when it is done he calls on one or two at hazard to read it out aloud. The boys are recommended to read it over afterwards two or three times. *All will not* follow the recommendation; but some will.

[7] *Without book clearly* means learning in some other book than the *book out of which alone* they can learn, the author. Working at Ellis's *Exercises is learning* "without book," or "great toil without order."

straight, plain, and easy, the scholar is always labouring with pleasure, and ever going right on forward with profit. Always labouring I say; for, or he have construed, parsed, twice translated over by good advisement, marked out his six points by skilful judgment, he shall have necessary occasion to read over every lecture a dozen times at the least. Which because he shall do always in order, he shall do it always with pleasure. 'And pleasure allureth love, love hath lust to labour, labour always obtaineth his purpose;' as most truly both Aristotle in his Rhetorick, and Oedipus in Sophocles do teach, saying *τὸ δὲ ζητούμενον ἁλωτόν*. And this oft reading is the very right following of that good counsel which Pliny doth give to his friend Fuscus, saying, 'Multum, non multa[8].' But to my purpose again.

"When by this diligent, and speedy reading over those forenamed good books of Tully, Terence, Caesar, and Livy, and by this second kind of translating out of your English, time shall breed skill, and use shall bring perfection: then ye may try, if ye will, your scholar with the third kind of translation: although the two first ways, by mine opinion, be not only sufficient of themselves, but also surer, both for the master's teaching, and scholar's learning, than this third way is; which is thus:

"Write you in English some letter, as it were from him to his father, or to some other friend, naturally, according to the disposition of the child; or some tale, or fable, or plain narration, according as Aphthonius[9] beginneth his exercises of learning, and let him translate it into Latin again, abiding in such place, where no other scholar may prompt him. But yet use you yourself such discretion for choice therein, as the matter may be within the compass, both for words and sentences, of his former learning and reading. And now take heed, lest your scholar do not better in some point than you yourself, except ye have been diligently exercised in these kinds of translating before.

"I had once a proof hereof, tried by good experience, by a dear friend of mine, when I came first from Cambridge to serve the Queen's Majesty, then Lady Elizabeth, lying at worthy Sir

[8] Plinius Secundus, Ep. vii. 9.

[9] *A book* much used in England in former days.

Antony Deny's, in Cheston. John Whitney, a young gentleman, was my bedfellow: who willing by good nature, and provoked by mine advice, began to learn the Latin tongue after the order declared in this book. We began after Christmas; I read unto him Tully de Amicitia, which he did every day twice translate, out of Latin into English, and out of English into Latin again. About St. Laurence Tide after, to prove how he profited, I did chuse out Torquatus' talk de Amicitia, in the latter end of the first book De Finibus; because that place was the same in matter, like in words and phrases, nigh to the form and fashion of sentences, as he had learned before in De Amicitia. I did translate it myself into plain English, and gave it him to turn into Latin; which he did so choicely, so orderly, so without any great miss in the hardest points of grammar, that some in seven years in grammar schools, yea, and some in the University too, cannot do half so well. This worthy young gentleman, to my greatest grief, to the great lamentation of that whole house, and specially to that most noble lady, now Queen Elizabeth herself, departed within few days out of this world.——————

" In this place, or I proceed further, I will now declare by whose authority I am led, and by what reason I am moved to think, that this way of double translation out of one tongue into another, is either only, or at least chiefly to be exercised, specially of youth, for the ready and sure obtaining of any tongue.——————

" Translation is easy in the beginning for the scholar, and bringeth also much learning and great judgment to the master. It is most common, and most commendable of all other exercises for youth: most common; for all your constructions in grammar schools be nothing else but translation: but because they be not double translations, (as I do require,) they bring forth but simple and single commodity; and because also they lack the daily use of writing, which is the only thing that breedeth deep root, both in the wit, for good understanding, and in the memory, for sure keeping of all that is learned: most commendable also, and that by the judgment of all authors, which intreat of these exercises. Tully, in the person of L. Crassus, (whom he maketh his example of eloquence and true judgment in learning,) doth not only *praise specially, and* chuse this way of translation for a young

man, but doth also discommend[1] and refuse his own former wont in exercising paraphrasin and metaphrasin. Paraphrasis is to take some eloquent oration, or some notable common-place in Latin, and express it with other words: metaphrasis is to take some notable place out of a good poet, and turn the same sense into metre, or into other words in prose. Crassus, or rather Tully, doth mislike both these ways; because the author either orator or poet, had chosen out before the fittest words, and aptest composition for that matter; and so he, in seeking other, was driven to use the worse.

"Quintilian[2] also preferreth translation before all other exercises; yet having a lust to dissent from Tully (as he doth in very many places, if a man read his Rhetorick over advisedly; and that rather of an envious mind, than of any just cause) doth greatly commend paraphrasis, crossing spitefully Tully's judgment in refusing the same; and so do Ramus, and Tallæus even at this day in France too. But such singularity in dissenting from the best men's judgment, in liking only their own opinions, is much misliked of all them, that join with learning, discretion, and wisdom.—Plinius Secundus, a wise senator of great experience, excellently learned himself, a liberal patron of learned men, and the purest writer, in mine opinion, of all his age (I except not Suetonius, his two schoolmasters, Quintilian and Tacitus, nor yet his most excellent learned uncle, the elder Plinius) doth express in an epistle to his friend Fuscus (vii. 9), many good ways for order in study; but he beginneth with translation, and preferreth it before all the rest. And because his words be notable, I will recite them: 'Utile in primis, et multi praecipiunt, vel ex Graeco in Latinum, vel ex Latino vertere in Graecum, quo genere exercitationis proprietas splendorque verborum, copia figurarum, vis explicandi, praeterea imitatione optimorum similia inveniendi facultas paratur; simul legentem quae fefellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt. Intelligentia ex hoc et judicium adquiritur[3].'

[1] De Oratore, i. 34. "Sed post animadverti," &c.

[2] Quintilian, Inst. Or. x. 5, remarks that the old orators thought it a good practice to translate from Greek into Latin: "vertere Graeca in Latinum, &c. Sed et illa ex Latinis conversio," &c.

[3] *Ascham, as Mr. Upton* remarks, does not give this passage exactly as it

" Ye perceive how Pliny teacheth, that by this exercise of double translating, is learned easily, sensibly, by little and little, not only all the hard congruities of grammar, the choice of aptest words, the right framing of words, and sentences, comeliness of figures, and forms fit for every matter, and proper for every tongue: but that which is greater also, in marking daily, and following diligently thus the steps of the best authors, like invention of arguments, like order in disposition, like utterance in elocution is easily gathered up; whereby your scholar shall be brought not only to like eloquence, but also to all true understanding and right judgment, both for writing and speaking. And where Dionysius Halicarnassaeus hath written two excellent books, the one De Delectu Optimorum Verborum, (the which, I fear, is lost,) the other, of the right framing of words and sentences, which doth remain yet in Greek, to the great profit of all them that truly study eloquence: yet this way of double translating, shall bring the whole profit of both these books to a diligent scholar, and that easily and pleasantly, both for fit choice of words, and apt composition of sentences.

" And by these authorities and reasons am I moved to think this way of double translating, either only, or chiefly, to be fittest for the speedy and perfect attaining of any tongue. And for speedy attaining, I durst venture a good wager, if a scholar, in whom is aptness, love, diligence, and constancy, would but translate after this sort, one little book in Tully (as De Senectute, with two Epistles, the first, Ad Q. Fratrem, the other, Ad Lentulum, the last save one in the first book) that scholar, I say, should come to a better knowledge in the Latin tongue, than the most part do, that spend four or five years in tossing all the rules of grammar in common schools. Indeed this one book with these two epistles is not sufficient to afford all Latin words (which is not necessary for a young scholar to know) but

stands in Pliny, and he suggests that he trusted to his memory. There is a curious difference in the first p^rt of the passage as quoted by Ascham: " Utile in primis, ut multi praecipiunt, ex Graeco in Latinum et ex Latino vertere in Graecum." Pliny certainly does not in plain terms recommend double translation; but a translation from Latin by a Roman into Greek *would* clearly be an exercise of little use, unless the translator had a Greek original to compare his translation with.

it is able to furnish him fully, for all points of grammar, with the right placing, ordering, and use of words, in all kind of matter. And why not? For it is read, that Dion Prussaeus, that wise philosopher, and excellent oratour of all his time, did come to the great learning and utterance that was in him, by reading, and following only two books, Phaedon Platonis, and Demosthenes' most notable oration περὶ παραπρεσβείας.

"And a better and nearer example herein may be, our most noble Queen Elizabeth, who never took yet Greek nor Latin grammar in her hand, after the first declining of a noun and a verb; but only by this double translating of Demosthenes and Isocrates, daily, without missing, every forenoon, and likewise some part of Tully every afternoon, for the space of a year or two, hath attained to such a perfect understanding in both the tongues, and to such a ready utterance of the Latin, and that with such a judgment, as they be few in number in both the Universities, or elsewhere in England, that be in both tongues comparable with her Majesty[4]. And to conclude in a short room the commodities of double translation; surely the mind by daily marking, first, the cause and matter; then, the words and phrases, next the order and composition; after, the reason and arguments; then, the forms and figures of both the tongues; lastly, the measure and compass of every sentence, must needs, by little and little, draw unto it the like shape of eloquence, as the author doth use, which is read. And thus much for double translation."

The parts of Cicero which this volume contains have been selected for the purpose either of using them after Ascham's method, or merely for reading in the usual way, if a teacher prefers it. The text of Orelli has generally been followed, but Orelli has not given all the various readings which an editor would require, if his object were to establish the text according to his own judgment. The punctuation of Latin books is difficult, and it is impossible to lay down any general rules. The fault of the common punctuation is that an author is overloaded

[4] To this effect is the testimony of Henry Savile in his well written Latin oration pronounced before Elizabeth at Oxford in 1592. His language is panegyrical, but not extravagant; and his evidence to the queen's facility in Greek and Latin is most precise.

with stops, and words which are closely connected in sense are often separated in such a manner that a learner does not see their connexion. But when a man begins to strike out the points, he will often find that when he has got rid of one, he must get rid of another, and then a third, so that many short sentences will remain without any point; which however is no disadvantage, but the contrary. A short sentence seldom requires any points. In the longer sentences it is necessary to place some points to mark the chief pauses, which would be made in reading them; but they need not be many. It may be objected to the punctuation of this book, that it is not always consistent; but I have preferred occasional inconsistency, or apparent inconsistency, to the usual system of punctuation, which itself has not even the merit of consistency. Whatever fault may be found with the punctuation of this book, a diligent boy will understand Cicero better, as I have, pointed the text, than if he reads it in the point-belaboured editions which are commonly used. He will not fail in many cases to see the relation of words to one another which in the ordinary texts is disjointed by perplexing points.

The notes are mainly intended to explain the language. I have attempted to explain the meaning of a few single words, which are either difficult or sometimes misunderstood; the right placing of some words, which it is important to observe; and the usage of those words, which chiefly serve to connect the subordinate or dependent with the principal sentences. I have not attempted to give reasons for certain forms of expression, for such reasons are generally very insufficient; but I have attempted to show the logical structure of the sentence. Those who have not been used to a critical study of Latin, may perhaps be led to see how far a careful study and comparison of a small portion of one author, and that the best in the Latin language, will enable a student to master all the ordinary forms of expression and to construct a sentence with accuracy. A person will scarcely believe till he has tried the experiment, how much of the language is contained in a single treatise, such as the De Senectute. This small treatise alone, if thoroughly mastered on Ascham's plan, would make a man a good Latin scholar. There are indeed many things which it does not teach him;

but those are either rare and peculiar expressions, or words which have a technical character, and belong to matters of constitutional history, law, natural history, and the like. A full and exact knowledge of all, or even of the greater part of such words can only be learned by much reading; and even some of the primary significations and nicer meanings of words in ordinary use can only be acquired by the student when he is of riper years. But for a knowledge of the ordinary words of the Latin language, their meaning, and the structure of a sentence, a small portion of an author is sufficient; nor can the Latin language be learned well, unless the foundation is laid in some small portion of a good author or two. When facility of reading Latin has been obtained by a proper discipline, a boy may read as much as the time will allow, and he may direct his attention to the matter as well as to the language. But it is a great error to introduce a boy to any author or part of an author, where the matter is difficult, before he has acquired a considerable facility in the language; nor is it any answer to this objection that he may be helped with notes and books of reference. Notes cannot in any reasonable space explain every thing; and indeed they ought to be chiefly designed for advanced students and teachers; they should rather instruct by suggesting what a learner should look at, than by aiming at complete exposition. As to making a boy use many books of reference, either for matter geographical, historical, or any other, there is great risk that he shall fall into the habit of reading about his author or the matter that is in him, instead of studying the author himself. It is the teacher's business to supply all necessary explanation for beginners[5]; and for this reason, many notes are not required for young boys. As already suggested, what I have done in these notes, has been done with the view of aiding teachers and more advanced students, rather than for very young scholars. The reason why

[5] I suppose a teacher to have Forcellini's Lexicon, without which he cannot do much; and some good Latin Grammar. Professor Key's is that which I have used. If a teacher has also the two Dictionaries edited by Dr. Smith, he will find them useful. I make this general reference to these works here, in order to avoid particular references in the notes and to save room.

I have explained the use of particular words chiefly by reference to similar usages in the passages here selected, is obvious. If a small part of Cicero, well learned, is sufficient to lay the foundation of a good knowledge of the Latin language, it is necessary to show that every particular usage, which is an essential part of the language, may be explained by like examples drawn from this small part.

In selecting matter for notes which must be of limited extent, there is no rule that can be laid down. The object is to help the reader to understand the author; but some readers require help, when others do not. Where there is a palpable difficulty, there should be a note. In other cases, the commentator must be guided by a certain tact and feeling, which, combined with experience as a teacher, will enable him to make such remarks, and give such hints and suggestions as may be useful, though they may not be all that could be wished.

Of all the pieces in this book the De Amicitia should be read last, for the reasons stated in the Introduction to that Dialogue. The first book of Letters is intended for young students, to make them familiar with the ordinary epistolary style of the Latin language. They should be learned so thoroughly that a boy should know every form of expression in them. The matter will cause little difficulty; the teacher's explanation and my few notes will be enough for that purpose. The shorter epistles of Cicero, those written in a careless manner, as one may say, are a good introduction to Terence, for they come near to the style of conversation. The second book of Letters, which contains longer and more elaborate epistles, is adapted for those who have made more proficiency. The long epistle to Quintus, being more in the oratorical style, will serve as an introduction to the orations of Cicero. The prose language of the Romans should be learned from Caesar, Terence, and the easier parts of Cicero, which will furnish ample material for the first few years of a student's course. The reading of other writers and of Cicero's Orations should be deferred till the pupil has mastered the Latin language well in the purest and simplest form, and where it is encumbered with few difficulties of matter.

*Brighton College,*
*May, 1850.*

This Second Edition has been revised; and is better than the first, as a second edition ought to be. I am indebted for some useful remarks to my friend Mr. Macleane, Head Master of King Edward's School, Bath.

BRIGHTON COLLEGE,
August, 1853.

# CATO MAJOR.

Cicero probably wrote his treatise De Senectute, or on Old Age, in his sixty-third year, in B.C. 44, and perhaps after the assassination of Caesar, though the time is not quite certain. In the troubled period which followed Caesar's death Cicero's literary activity was unremitting. He sought in philosophical pursuits for the peace of mind which he could not find either at home or abroad. This work derives its title from Cato the Elder, or Censorius, who died B.C. 149. He is here introduced in his 84th year (B.C. 150[1]) discoursing on old age with P. Scipio Africanus the Younger, and C. Laelius, the friend of Scipio. The Cato Major is addressed to Titus Pomponius Atticus, who was three years older than his friend Cicero, and derived from the perusal of this little treatise the consolation (Cicero's Letters to Atticus, xvi. 3, and 11), which the author himself could not, though it gave him relief to write it (Ad Atticum, xiv. 21). "Old age," says Cicero, "has embittered me—my life is spent." The treatise has little of the character of a dialogue, for the two speakers, Scipio and Laelius, do little more than prompt Cato to give them a discourse. The considerations which are urged against the common notion, that old age is miserable, appear not to be so much derived from Cicero's own experience and reflection as from the

[1] In the consulship of T. Quinctius Flamininus and M'. Acilius Balbus. De Sen. *5, and 10.*

works of his favourite Plato, Aristo of Chios, who had written on old age, from Xenophon, and perhaps other Greek writers. The argument is stated so clearly that it requires little explanation. The ease and agreeable manner in which the matter is handled merit the highest praise; and there are few persons, especially those of mature years, who have read this treatise once, and would not wish to read it again. The apology for Old Age, as it may be called, is a complete argument, for a Roman of the republican period. Some poor objections have been urged against it, and a note or two is added to meet some of them.

The notes are short, as they must be in a book of moderate size. Nor is there perhaps any advantage in such copious commentaries as some editions of classical authors are encumbered with. Some authors which are very difficult, and are read only by ripe scholars, may bear a heavy weight of notes. The object of these notes is to explain the text, as far as they go; not to explain every thing. I have used the notes in the Variorum edition, and the commentary of A. Manutius.

As to the time when this treatise was written, see Drumann (Geschichte Roms, vi. 350).

I have compared this second edition of the De Senectute with that of F. V. Otto, Leipzig, 1830; from which I have got a few references, and here and there a little help. I have also read the text and the notes in Henricus Alanus his edition of the De Senectute (Dublin, 1852); and I have in one or two instances followed his text. I have referred to his edition by the letter A.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

# CATO MAJOR SIVE DE SENECTUTE

AD

## T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM.

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I. 1. O Tite, si quid ego adjuero curamve levasso
Quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa,
Ecquid erit praemî?

Licet enim mihi versibus eisdem affari te, Attice, quibus affatur Flamininum

Ille vir haud magna cum re, sed plenu' fidei.

Quamquam certo scio, non, ut Flamininum,

Sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctesque diesque.

Novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem, teque non cognomen solum Athenis deportasse sed humanitatem

1. *O Tite,*] These verses are from Ennius, who is addressing T. Quinctius Flamininus, the conqueror of Philip V., king of Macedonia, B.C. 197. The life of Flamininus is written by Plutarch.

*Levasso*] A form equivalent to 'levavero.' But the original ending of the future perfect of the indicative seems to have been 'eso;' and accordingly the form would be 'levaveso,' which is as easily shortened to 'levaso,' as 'levavero' is to 'levaro.' The second 's' in 'levasso' is superfluous.

*Ille vir*] ~~He means Ennius~~, a Greek, a native of Rudiae in Calabria, and the *father* of Roman *epic poetry*. *Ennius* was born B.C. 239. He became acquainted with Cato probably while Cato was praetor of Sardinia. There is an edition of the fragments of Ennius by F. Hessel, Amsterdam, 4to, 1707.—A. reads

'Flamininum vir ille
— haud magna cum re, sed
plenu' fidei.'

*Fidei.*] The penultima of the genitives of the fifth declension was originally long, but in prose it is usual to pronounce it short, unless the vowel 'i' precedes it. (Key's Grammar, p. 16.) The elision of the 's' before a consonant, as in 'plenus,' occurs frequently in Lucretius.

*Cognomen*] His cognomen of

et prudentiam intelligo. Et tamen te suspicor eisdem rebus quibus me ipsum interdum gravius commoveri, quarum consolatio et major est et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc autem visum est mihi de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere. 2. Hoc enim onere quod mihi commune tecum est aut jam urgentis aut certe adventantis senectutis et te et me ipsum levari volo: etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter sicut omnia et ferre et laturum esse certo scio. Sed mihi, quum de senectute vellem aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas dignus eo munere quo uterque nostrum communiter uteretur. Mihi quidem ita jucunda hujus libri confectio fuit ut non modo omnes absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam et jucundam senectutem. Nunquam igitur laudari satis digne philosophia poterit, cui qui pareat omne tempus aetatis sine molestia possit degere. 3. Sed de ceteris et diximus multa et saepe dicemus: hunc librum de senectute ad te

Atticus; for among other accomplishments Cicero's friend "sic Graece loquebatur ut Athenis natus videretur." Nepos, Life of Atticus, c. 4.

*Quibus me ipsum*] This is commonly called a case of attraction, 'me ipsum' corresponding to the accusative 'te;' for the regular construction would be 'quibus ego ipse,' but this would require the repetition of the verb in the form 'commoveor.' 'Ut Flamininum,' is a like instance.

*Quarum consolatio*] Cicero perhaps alludes to the troubles that followed Caesar's death; or, if this treatise was written before Caesar's death, he may allude to the times that followed Caesar's invasion of Italy, and to Caesar's usurpation.

*Levari volo:*] 'Volo' in the indicative indicates 'opinion,' 'will,' and sometimes 'command.' Here it means: "I would have both you and myself eased of this burden." Compare the use of 'volo' in De Sen. c. 1, 2, 7, 19, 20; and De Am. c. 3, 9.

*Eo munere quo — uteretur.*] This should be rendered: "You occurred to me as worthy of an offering such as both of us might enjoy in common."

*Cui qui pareat*, &c.] The position of the two relatives, and the similar position at the beginning of a clause, of 'qui si,' 'qui cum,' 'quod qui' (De Am. 10), ought to be observed. 'Qui' thus placed should rarely be translated by the English relative; though in this instance 'cui' may be so translated: "The which *if* a man were to obey, he might," &c. I have here purposely prefixed *the* to *which;* but if this old and good idiom should be disliked, we may

misimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Chius, parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula, sed M. Catoni seni, quo majorem auctoritatem haberet oratio. Apud quem Laelium et Scipionem facimus admirantes quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, iisque eum respondentem. Qui si eruditius videbitur disputare quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, attribuito litteris Graecis quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est plura? Jam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram omnem de senectute sententiam.

II. 4. Scipio. Saepenumero admirari soleo cum hoc C. Laelio quum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime quod nunquam senectutem tibi gravem esse senserim, quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sus-

say, "and if a man should obey it," &c.; which is a poor sort of expression, for the 'cui' loses its place and its emphasis. On the translation of such forms as 'pareat' with 'possit' in the corresponding member, see Professor Key's Grammar, on the conjugations.

*Admirantes quod—ferat,*] A comparison of like passages in which 'quod' is followed by the subjunctive will show that it belongs to the more general construction of the relative 'qui' with the subjunctive. Comp. De Sen. c. 2, 3, 4; De Am. c. 27.

*Suis libris,*] M. Porcius Cato was a soldier, an orator, a farmer, and an author. He wrote a small treatise De Re Rustica, which is extant, and Origines, or a history of the early events of Italy, of which some fragments remain. The fragments of his orations are collected by *Meyer, Orat.* Rom. *Fragm. pp. 11—151,* 2nd ed. Cicero says (Brutus, c. 17) that he had read above one hundred and fifty of Cato's orations.

*Quid opus*] An ordinary ellipsis in familiar discourse, instead of "quid opus est plura dicere?" Thus a Roman could say 'quid plura?' 'quid multa?' The omission of a verb in familiar conversation or writing was common. Cicero begins a letter to Atticus (xvi. 3), "Tu vero sapienter. Nunc demum," &c.

2. *Ceterarum rerum,* &c.] "Sane ceterarum rerum paterfamilias et prudens et attentus." Cic. Pro P. Quintio, c. 3. As to this position of the genitive, compare De Sen. c. 22, "ceterarum rerum;" and c. 23, "ut aliarum rerum."

*Sic—ut*] 'Sic' is used sometimes like 'ita,' and may be followed by 'ut' and the subjunctive, as in the expression (c. 1) "ita jucunda—fuit ut—absterserit." Similar usages of 'sic—ut' occur in De Sen. 8, 'sic avide,' &c., and

tinere. CATO. Rem haud sane difficilem, Scipio et Laeli, admirari videmini. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque vivendum, iis omnis aetas gravis est: qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, iis nihil potest malum videri quod naturae necessitas afferat. Quo in genere est

'sic' without an adjective or adverb, followed by 'ut,' as De Am. 1, 4. But the use of 'sic' is generally distinguishable from that of 'ita;' for 'ita' has the same relationship to 'is,' that 'sic' has to the demonstrative 'hic;' and accordingly 'sic' is more emphatic.

*Aetna*] This treatise abounds in short passages, the substance of which is taken from Greek writers. The original of this passage may be the Hercules Furens of Euripides, v. 631,—

——*ἄχθος δὲ τὸ γῆρας ἀεὶ*
*βαρύτερον Αἴτνας σκοπέλων ἐπὶ*
*κρατὶ κεῖται.*

*Quibus—iis*] 'Is' is simply a word of reference, and as much so when it is placed after 'qui' as when it is before it; though the form of expression is more emphatic here, than if the two parts of the sentence changed their relative position. The English idiom adopts another order, but one that is much inferior in expressiveness: "for every period of life is irksome to those who have no resources in themselves;" but the emphasis, which 'quibus' has in the Latin by virtue of its place, is lost in this version. Yet it is possible to preserve the position of 'quibus' in the English; and, if such a rendering as the following should not be the best, it may serve to show *the meaning of the* position of *'quibus:'* "*for, if a* man (quibus) has no resources, &c., to such a one (iis)," &c. There are readings 'quibus—his,' and 'qui—his.'

*A se ipsi*] Some MSS. have 'ipsi.' Others, which Orelli follows, have 'ipsis.'

*Quod—afferat.*] This is part of the subject, of which is predicated, that it cannot appear bad. If part of the subject is thus placed after the predicate, which is generally the case when a negative is used, this disjoined part of the subject is expressed by 'qui' with the subjunctive. The form of the sentence might be, "quod naturae necessitas affert, id non potest malum videri." Numerous examples of this use of the subjunctive occur. In the expression, "nihil habeo quod accusem senectutem" (De Sen. 5), 'quod accusem,' &c., is the subject, the supposed existence of which is negatived. Indeed these forms of expression are conditional, as: "nihil autem molestum quod non desideres" (De Sen. 14): "in fact, if you don't care about having a thing, it gives you no uneasiness;" or, in other words, "nothing gives you uneasiness if you don't care about having it." "Cui parent nesciunt" (De Am. 15): "they are getting, they know not for whom;" "they know not for whom they are getting." Here the logical subject is 'cui parent,' "for whom they are getting;" and of such, ignorance in the getters is predicated. In "nemo est enim

in primis senectus, quam ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adeptam: tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque perversitas. Obrepere aiunt eam citius quam putavissent. Primum, quis coegit eos falsum putare? Quî enim citius adolescentiae senectus quam pueritiae adolescentia obrepit? Deinde, quî minus gravis esset iis senectus, si octingentesimum annum agerent quam octogesimum? Praeterita enim aetas quamvis longa quum effluxisset, nulla consolatione permulcere posset stultam senectutem. 5. Quocirca si sapientiam meam admirari soletis, quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine, in hoc sumus sapientes quod naturam opti-

tam senex qui se annum non putet posse vivere" (De Sen. 7), the subject is 'tam senex—vivere,' 'a man so old as not to expect to live a year;' and the existence of such a man is negatived. Nothing is clearer than the following passage: "ad quas non est facile inventu qui descendat," where it is obvious that 'ad quas—qui descendat,' 'a man to descend to,' is the subject and the nominative of 'est,' and that of such a man it is said 'non est facile inventu.' In De Sen. 19, we have "nec quid sequatur sciri potest," where the subject 'quid sequatur' is manifest. There is occasionally an apparent and sometimes a real difficulty in determining the subject and the predicate of a sentence; that is, it may be difficult to discover what the writer meant, and partly because he has conceived his idea vaguely. In the expression: "nemo convenire me voluit cui fuerim occupatus" (De Sen. 10), the subject is "a person with reference to whom I was engaged," which supposition is *negatived.* The same *thing might be somewhat* differently expressed thus: "nemini fui occupatus qui me voluerit convenire," where 'a man wishing to see me' is the subject, of which is predicated that "I was never engaged when such a thing happened."

*Adeptam:*] Several MSS. have 'adepti,' but there is authority for the passive form. Forcellini, Lexicon, by Furlanetto.

*Quî enim*] As A. has it. Orelli has 'Quid enim? citius,' &c.; but there is little MSS. authority for 'Quid enim,' &c.

*Nostroque cognomine,*] The 'cognomen' of Sapiens or the Wise (De Am. c. 2). The reading 'vestroque cognomine' has less MSS. authority. If it is accepted, it must mean 'the cognomen that you give me,' as A. observes. Cicero (Verr. ii. 2, c. 2) says, "Itaque ille M. Cato Sapiens."

*In hoc—quod sequimur*] If this is considered as containing an independent affirmation, there is no difficulty about the use of the indicative. Comp. de Sen. c. 12, 13, 17; De Am. c. 5; Ad Q. Fr. 1. Such a passage as the following

mam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eique paremus; a qua non veri simile est quum ceterae partes aetatis bene discriptae sint extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poeta esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum et tamquam in arborum bacis terraeque frugibus maturitate tempestiva quasi vietum et caducum, quod ferendum est molliter sapienti. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum Diis nisi naturae repugnare?

in the De Am. 20, "quas qui impedire vult quod desiderium non ferat, is et infirmus est," &c., is a different kind of sentence. But see the note on "si in hoc erro," &c., c. 23.

*Naturam optimam ducem*] The sense in which 'natura' is used in this treatise is exact enough. On the meaning of the expression 'to follow nature' and 'to live according to nature,' and the like, Bishop Butler has some useful remarks in the introduction to his sermons. According to Diogenes (vii. Zeno) Zeno was the first who said that the end of life was to live conformably to Nature, that is, according to virtue. In the De Amicitia Nature is called the best guide to good living, by which the writer clearly means, that the whole constitution of man's nature shows how he ought to live; which is not by following a part of his nature, as, for instance, his animal propensities only, but by living in conformity to the whole nature of his being. The true notion of living according to nature is clearly expressed by the Emperor Antoninus (Med. ii. 1, and elsewhere). The word 'nature' is seldom used by the Greek and Roman philosophical writers so loosely as it is by many modern writers. It often means God, as Seneca says (De Ben. iv. 8): "sic nunc naturam voca, fatum, fortunam; omnia ejusdem Dei nomina sunt varie utentis sua potestate;" and in another place (De Ben. iv. 7) he says: "quid aliud est natura quam deus et divina ratio toti mundo et partibus ejus inserta?"

*Discriptae*] Orelli's reading is 'descriptae,' and he gives no various reading 'discriptae,' though there seems to be one (Otto's note). See Cicero De Re Publica, i. 46; ii. 22, ed. A. Mai. I do not hesitate to restore a genuine word, which differs from 'describo,' as 'decedo' from 'discedo,' 'depono' from 'dispono.' 'Discribere' means 'to mark out:' 'describere' is to mark down, to copy from, and the like.

*Vietum*] 'Vie-tus' means 'soft,' 'flexible,' 'bent.' Lucretius (iii. 386) calls the spider's web 'vieta vestis,' the meaning of which is understood, when we feel a spider's web on our face or hands. Terence, Eunuchus (iv. 4. 21), has this:

'Hic est vetus, vietus, veternosus senex.'

Columella (xii. 15) applies the word to a fig full ripe, and opposes it to 'immatura.' It means here that which is soft and ripe, ready to fall (caducum).

*Gigantum*] 'To fight against

6. LAELIUS. Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis, ut etiam pro Scipione pollicear, feceris, si, quoniam speramus, volumus quidem, certe, senes fieri, multo ante a te didicerimus quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus. CATO. Faciam vero, Laeli, praesertim si utrique vestrum, ut dicis, gratum futurum est. LAEL. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris quam nobis quoque ingrediendum sit, istuc quo pervenisti videre quale sit.

III. 7. CATO. Faciam ut potero, Laeli. Saepe enim interfui querelis aequalium meorum—pares autem, vetere proverbio, cum paribus facillime congregantur—quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus, homines Consulares nostri fere aequales deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum quod sperne-

natura' is to fight against the Gods; for to resist a law is to resist the law-maker. Cicero compares this disobedience to the rebellion of the Giants, an old story. See Macleane's Horace, Note, Carm. iii. 4.

*Quam—ingrediendum sit*,] The reading 'qua' is properly rejected by Manutius and others who have followed him.

*Istuc*] The connexion of this word 'istuc,' 'the place where you are,' with 'quo pervenisti,' and the use of the word 'iste' generally in this treatise, will show a careful reader that 'iste' has a reference in some way to the person who is addressed. No word is so much misused by modern writers of Latin. "Est istuc quidem Laeli, aliquid" (De Sen. 3), refers to what Laelius had just said. "Omnes autem qui istinc veniunt" (Ad Q. Fr. 13), says Cicero to his brother Quintus: "all those who come from *your province*," the *province where Quintus* then was. The Italians use their demonstrative pronoun 'cotesto' in the same way.

3. *Querelis—quae C. Salinator*,] Some MSS. and some editions have 'quas,' but 'quae' is the right reading. After saying that he had often heard the complaints of some of his comrades, Cato interposes a proverb, and instead of continuing the sentence thus: "C. Salinatoris, Sp. Albini qui," &c., he resumes simply with reference to the sense, as if he had begun, "I have heard what C. Salinator," &c. The use of 'quod carerent' depends partly on the oblique form, which is here used in reporting the words of others, and partly on the fact that 'quod carerent,' &c., is the subject, and that the predicate is in 'deplorare.' The use of 'putarent' is also in accordance with a general principle, by virtue of which the tense of 'puto' in this instance must follow that of the verb, to which it is subordinate.

rentur ab iis a quibus essent coli soliti. Qui mihi non id videbantur accusare quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reliquisque omnibus majoribus natu, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querela, qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istiusmodi querelarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt; importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est. 8. LAEL. Est, ut dicis, Cato; sed fortasse dixerit quispiam tibi propter opes et copias et dignitatem tuam tolerabiliorem senectutem videri, id autem non posse multis contingere. CATO. Est istuc quidem, Laeli, aliquid, sed nequaquam in isto sunt omnia. Ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in jurgio respondisse, quum ille dixisset non eum sua sed patriae gloria splendorem assecutum:

*Quod esset accusandum.*] The chief predicate is 'videbantur accusare,' and the subject is 'id . . . quod esset accusandum.' There are two forms which such a Latin sentence may have. If no emphasis is laid on the part which contains the subject, it is placed at the end of the sentence; and if this subject contains a verb, it is in the subjunctive form. If the subject is to be made emphatic, it is placed in another part of the sentence; and the form is this: "Quod erat accusandum id mihi non videbantur accusare."

*Usu venirent*] Caesar (B. G. vii. 9) has the same expression. Terence (Phormio i. 2. 23) has, 'Mî usus venit.' The MSS. of Cicero have both 'usu venirent' and 'usu evenirent;' but here at least the true form is 'usu venirent.'

*Qui—non moleste ferrent*] If this sentence causes any difficulty, it may be removed by considering that Cicero might have said "quorum ego multos cognovi qui non quererentur se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse nec a suis," &c.

*Themistocles — nobilis,*] The story is taken from Plato (Rep. i.), where the word which corresponds to 'nobilis' is ὀνομαστός, which, as Manutius observes, makes it the more surprising that some critics should have preferred 'ignobilis,' the reading of certain MSS., which is contradicted by the passage in Plato, and in Plutarch (Life of Themistocles, c. 18), who has the word ἔνδοξος, and by the sense of the passage. The story is told somewhat differently in terms by Herodotus (viii. 125), but it is the same in substance.

Nec hercule, inquit, si ego Seriphius essem, nobilis, nec tu, si Atheniensis esses, clarus unquam fuisses. Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest. Nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest ne sapienti quidem, nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non gravis. 9. Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli, arma senectutis artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae in omni aetate cultae, quum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos efferunt fructus, non solum quia nunquam deserunt ne extremo quidem tempore aetatis, quamquam id quidem maximum est, verum etiam quia conscientia bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum recordatio jucundissima est.

IV. 10. Ego Q. Maximum, eum qui Tarentum recepit, adolescens ita dilexi senem ut aequalem. Erat enim in illo viro comitate condita gravitas, nec senectus mores mutaverat; quamquam eum colere coepi non admodum grandem natu, sed tamen jam aetate provectum. Anno enim post consul primum fuerat quam ego natus sum, cumque eo quartum consule adolescentulus miles ad Capuam profectus sum, quintoque anno post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deinde quadriennio post factus sum, quem ma-

*Quod eodem modo*] The comparison is expressed by '*Ut* Themistocles,' &c., and by 'Quod *eodem modo*,' &c.

4. *Eum qui—in illo*] The frequent use of the form 'is qui' enables a careful reader to distinguish the use of 'is,' a word of reference, from the demonstrative 'ille,' which points to the remoter object, when contrasted with 'hic,' which refers to the nearer; and when 'ille' is not contrasted with 'hic,' it is still used conformably to its proper meaning to designate a person or thing emphatically. After speaking of Q. Maximus as 'ille vir,' '*that great* man,' he *simply refers to him* as the subject of his narrative, which is done by the word 'eum.' Fabius is Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator, he who first checked Annibal by his prudence (Livy xxii.).

*Quartum consule*] Consul for the fourth time. 'Quartum' is the word nearly always used in this sense (Liv. iii. 67), not quarto. In the Monumentum Ancyranum: "Patritiorum numerum auxi consul quartum."

*Quaestor deinde*, &c.] This passage stands as it is in Orelli's text. The various readings are very perplexing. Cato's quaestorship was in the consulship of M. Cornelius Cethegus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, B.C. 204. The reading in

gistratum gessi Consulibus Tuditano et Cethego, quum quidem ille admodum senex suasor legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus fuit. Hic et bella gerebat ut adolescens, quum plane grandis esset, et Annibalem juveniliter exsultantem patientia sua molliebat; de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius:

> Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem,
> Non enim rumores ponebat ante salutem.
> Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

11. Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit! quum quidem me audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido

the Variorum edition is "ad Tarentum quaestor; deinde aedilis, quadriennio post factus sum praetor; quem magistratum," &c. Cato was born B.C. 234, according to Cicero: he was with Fabius at Capua B.C. 214; with him again at Tarentum B.C. 209, according to Cicero; quaestor B.C. 204; in B.C. 199 plebeian aedile; in B.C. 198 praetor in Sardinia; consul for the first time B.C. 195; and censor B.C. 184. Manutius explains the old text by referring 'quem magistratum' to the quaestorship; for he remarks, if Cato were praetor in the consulship of Tuditanus and Cethegus (B.C. 204), there would be nine years between his praetorship and consulship, which would be improbable. But if he was quaestor with Fabius at Tarentum B.C. 209, he was not quaestor in the consulship of Cethegus and Tuditanus. Besides this, it is hardly probable that the mention of his aedileship and praetorship would be interposed, before he fixed the year of his quaestorship, by the words 'quem magistratum,' &c. The conclusion is that what relates to his aedileship and praetorship is properly rejected.

*Suasor legis Cinciae*] 'Suasor' is a term applied to one who speaks in favour of a law (lex). The 'lex Cincia' was a plebiscitum, enacted B.C. 204. It took its name from the tribune M. Cincius Alimentus who proposed it. One provision of the lex forbade a person to take any thing for pleading a cause (Cic. De Orat. ii. 71; Liv. xxxiv. 4). But it contained other provisions with reference to gifts. The matter is discussed by Savigny, Vermischte Schriften, vol. i.; by Hasse in the Rheinisches Museum (1827); and by Puchta, Inst. vol. ii. § 206.

*Non enim*, &c.] See De Officiis i. 24. The best MSS. have the reading 'non enim,' &c., to which there is no objection, for the 'e' in 'enim' was dropped in the reading.

*Salinatori,*] Annibal took Tarentum except the citadel, which M. Livius defended (Liv. xxv. 9—11; xxvii. 25). But this Livius was not Salinator. His cognomen was Macatus (Liv. xxvii. 34). Cicero has confounded this

fugerat in arcem, glorianti atque ita dicenti, Mea opera, Q. Fabi, Tarentum recepisti, Certe, inquit ridens, nam nisi tu amisisses, nunquam recepissem. Nec vero in armis praestantior quam in toga, qui Consul iterum, Sp. Carvilio collega quiescente, C. Flaminio tribuno plebis, quoad potuit, restitit agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra Senatus auctoritatem dividenti; augurque quum esset, dicere ausus est, Optimis auspiciis ea geri quae pro rei publicae salute gererentur, quae contra rem publicam ferrentur contra auspicia ferri. 12. Multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi, sed nihil est admirabilius quam quomodo ille mortem filii tulit clari viri et consularis. Est in manibus laudatio, quam quum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus? Nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior. Qui sermo! quae praecepta! quanta notitia antiquitatis! quae scientia juris augurii! Multae etiam ut in homine

M. Livius Macatus with M. Livius Salinator, who was consul (B.C. 207) with C. Claudius Nero: and he has the same mistake, if it is one, in another place (De Or. ii. 67).

*Ita dicenti,*] Some MSS. omit 'ita.' In a passage where Cicero (De Fin. i. 9) wishes emphatically to introduce what he is going to say, the expression is "idque instituit docere sic;" in which case 'ita' would not be admissible. Compare (De Sen. 6): "et tamen sic a patribus accepimus."

*Agrum Picentem*] This agrarian law is mentioned by Polybius (ii. 21), who says that it was carried, and he places it in B.C. 232, four years earlier than Cicero; for the second consulship of Fabius was B.C. 228. This was land from which the Galli had been expelled by the Romans. The division of it is mentioned by Varro (De R. R. i. 2): "ager Gallicus Romanus vocatur, qui viritim cis Ariminum datus est ultra agrum Picentium." The term 'dividenti,' which occurs in Livy (iv. 48 and elsewhere), means a proposal to distribute conquered land; and 'viritim' means so much for each plebeian.

*Auctoritatem*] If a measure was approved by the senate, before it was confirmed by the comitia, the senate were said 'auctores fieri,' and their resolution was an 'auctoritas' (Cic. Brutus, c. 14). The meaning of the expression 'patres auctores fiunt' requires an historical exposition, which is given by Becker (Handbuch der Röm. Alterthümer), and his view of it may be accepted until a better appears.

*Juris augurii!*] Some MSS. have 'juris et augurii;' but we

Romano litterae. Omnia memoria tenebat, non domestica solum sed etiam externa bella. Cujus sermone ita tunc cupide fruebar quasi jam divinarem, id quod evenit, illo exstincto fore unde discerem neminem.

V. 13. Quorsum igitur haec tam multa de Maximo? Quia profecto videtis nefas esse dictu miseram fuisse talem senectutem; nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones aut Maximi ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestres navalesve pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, ut triumphos recordentur. Est etiam quiete et pure et eleganter actae aetatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus; qualem Isocratis qui eum librum qui Panathenaicus inscribitur quarto et nonagesimo anno scripsisse se dicit, vixitque quinquennium postea; cujus magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et septem complevit annos neque unquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit. Qui, quum ex eo quaereretur cur tamdiu vellet esse in vita, nihil habeo,

may say 'jus augurium,' the law that related to augury, as we say 'jus pontificium,' the law that related to the duties and powers of the pontifices. 'Jus' in one of its senses signifies 'law' generally: 'lex' is a statute, an enactment of the comitia. Sometimes 'jus' and 'lex' are opposed; and 'jus' means law, the original of which is not in writing. Cicero (De Leg. i. 6): "populariter interdum loqui necesse erit et appellare eam legem, quae scripta sancit quod vult, aut jubendo, aut vetando, ut vulgus appellat."

*Ut in homine Romano*] "For a Roman," "considering he was a Roman." "Quae tamen ut in malis acerbitati anteponenda est" (*Ad Q. Fr.* 13). Compare Cic. *Verr. ii. 1. c. 52*; and Divin. c. 9.

5. *Ut urbium, &c.*] The word 'ita' is often omitted in such cases as this, and others like it. "Saepe incidunt magnae res ut discedendum sit ab amicis" (De Am. 20).

*Panathenaicus*] The Panathenaicus of Isocrates is extant. He mentions his age of ninety and four years (c. 1). This treatise is so called either because it was read at the Panathenaea, or because it is a laudation of the Athenians.

Gorgias, a native of Leontini in Sicily, was a teacher of rhetoric and a philosopher. The evidence as to the great age that he attained is as clear as can be expected about such a matter.

*Cur—vellet*] 'Cur' is one of the conjunctions formed from 'qui,' and in such a sentence as this is followed by the subjunctive mood, as in this chapter: "quatuor reperio causas cur senectus misera

inquit, quod accusem senectutem. 14. Praeclarum responsum et docto homine dignum. Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt; quod non faciebat is cujus modo mentionem feci, Ennius:

> Sicut fortis equus, spatio qui saepe supremo
> Vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectu' quiescit.

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam. Quem quidem probe meminisse potestis. Anno enim undevicesimo post ejus mortem hi consules T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius facti sunt; ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum Consulibus mortuus est: quum ego quidem v et LX annos natus legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus suasissem. Annos LXX natus, tot enim vixit Ennius, ita ferebat duo quae maxima putantur onera paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur. 15. Etenim, quum contemplor animo, quatuor reperio causas cur senectus misera videatur: unam, quod avocet a rebus gerendis; alteram, quod corpus faciat infirmius; tertiam, quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus; quartam, quod haud procul absit a morte. Earum, si placet, causarum quanta quamque sit justa unaquaeque videamus.

videatur" (see also De Sen. 21; De Am. 13, 21): "reasons for old age being considered miserable I find to be four."

*Vicit Olympia,*] Olympia is the accusative plural of Olympius, and the construction is a Greek usage, like *τὰ πάντα νικᾶν, μάχην νικᾶν, Ὀλύμπια νικᾶν.*

*M'. Acilius*] M'. is the abbreviation for Manius, a Roman praenomen, which the MSS. and the editors have often incorrectly replaced by M. or Marcus.

*Legem Voconiam*] *This lex was enacted* B.C. *169 according to* Cicero. Its provisions are obscurely stated by the ancient authorities, but the general object was to limit the amount of property that a woman could take as heres. (Gaius, ii. 274.) See Savigny, Vermischte Schriften, Ueber die Lex Voconia.

*Bonis lateribus*] 'With good sides,' 'strong sides,' sound in wind. Comp. c. 9. Plinius (Ep. ii. 11) says, "ut saepius admoneret voci laterique consulerem." Of a person who is wearied and panting the Italians say 'e' batta il fianco.' Forcellini.

VI. A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit. Quibu iis quae juventute geruntur et viribus? Nullaen res sunt seniles quae vel infirmis corporibus animo administrentur? Nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus. L. Paullus, pater tuus, Scipio, socer optimi viri, fi Ceteri senes, Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii, quum rem cam consilio et auctoritate defendebant, nihil a 16. Ad Appii Claudii senectutem accedebat et caecus esset; tamen is, quum sententia Senatus in

6. *An iis quae juventute*, &c.] This is the true order of the words, not "geruntur juventute et viribus," as in Ernesti. There is a reading 'in juventute geruntur,' &c., which some editors prefer; and it has the authority of the best MSS. 'An' is the conjunction used in the second part of a disjunctive question; and, when it stands thus at the beginning of a sentence, it has reference to what has been stated before. Here the affirmation is, that old age withdraws us from public affairs; which is followed by the question 'from what?' followed up by the further question, 'from all or only from,' &c. Compare 'An ne eas quidem vires,' &c. (De Sen. 9.) The enclitic 'ne' is used in direct interrogative sentences, and is placed after the emphatic word as, 'Nullaene igitur,' &c. See Key's Latin Grammar, Interrogative Particles.

*L. Paullus*, &c.] Scipio, one of the speakers in the dialogue, was the younger son of L. Aemilius Paullus who conquered Macedonia. He was adopted by P. Scipio, the son of the Scipio who defeated Hannibal at Zama. Accordingly his complete name was P. Cornelius *Scipio Aemilianus*, the word *Aemilianus* indicating his original gens. He was called Africanus ] distinguish him from hi father by adoption.

*Quum—defendebant, n bant.*] The ? usually pu end of the sentences 'Ni &c., is not wanted. It is rial, whether we have it o

In such a case as this cative with 'quum' marks contemporaneous with "Quum contemplor ani perio" (De Sen. 4); "ne nunc video quum bella n (De Sen. 6). In the e "quum sententia senatu ret non dubitavit," it is writer's intention to m words of Appius as im prompted by the senate's but simply as delivered time when the senate was to this opinion. Compar vellem—tu occurrebas" 1), "while I was in this di of mind, you occurred;" mone quem moriens hab admodum senex esset" 9). The principal uses o with the indicative and subjunctive may be easily by a diligent student, wh assisted by Key's Latin G 1455.

ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa quae versibus persecutus est Ennius:

> Quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant
> Antehac, dementes sese flexere viai?

ceteraque gravissime: notum enim vobis carmen est; et tamen ipsius Appii extat oratio. Atque haec ille egit septem et decem annis post alterum consulatum, quum inter duos consulatus anni decem interfuissent, censorque ante superiorem consulatum fuisset; ex quo intelligitur Pyrrhi bello grandem sane fuisse: et tamen sic a patribus accepimus. 17. Nihil igitur afferunt qui in re gerenda versari senectutem negant; similesque sunt ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando nihil agere dicant, quum alii

*Illa quae*] Cicero could have used 'ea quae' in this passage, but 'illa' is the demonstrative, and emphatic; which remark is made that such passages as this may not be alleged as evidence of 'is' and 'ille' being used indifferently. The distinction between the two could not be more clearly marked than in the expression: "ad *illa* prima redeamus, *eaque* ipsa concludamus" (De Am. 26), where 'ea' refers to 'illa.'

*Quo vobis*, &c.] 'Viai' is a correction of Lambinus. Most MSS. have 'via.' Two MSS. have 'vita' for 'via,' and Scaliger conjectured that 'vietae' was the true reading. 'Dementi' is the reading of most MSS. The genitive 'viai' is supposed to depend on 'Quo.'

*Appii extat*] See note, c. 11. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, invaded Italy B.C. 280. Appius was made censor before he was consul, as Cicero here states, and also Livy (ix. 29), in B.C. 312. His first consulship is fixed at B.C. 307. He is again mentioned in c. 11. He began the construction of the Via Appia or road to Capua, and supplied Rome with water by an aqueduct, the Appia. (Frontin. De Aquaeduct. lib. 1.) He is the earliest Roman orator of whom we have any particular notice. (Meyer, Orat. Rom. Fr. p. 1.)

*Nihil igitur afferunt*, &c.] The "qui . . . negant" contains as direct a negation, as if we were to write, "qui hoc negant, ii nihil afferunt." It is intended to affirm that there are persons who deny that old age is engaged in the administration of public affairs, and also to affirm of such that their affirmation is nothing to the purpose. It is true that "qui . . . negant," having been enunciated as a proposition, becomes the subject of the other proposition. But this is very different from such a sentence as "sunt qui . . . negent," in which there is only one distinct proposition, the affirmation of the existence of persons who deny.

*Similesque sunt ut si qui*] Probably the true reading. There is a reading, "similesque sunt iis qui," &c.

malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille autem clavum tenens quietus sedeat in puppi? Non facit ea quae juvenes. At vero multo majora et meliora facit. Non viribus aut velocitatibus aut celeritate corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia; quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri senectus solet. 18. Nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles et tribunus et legatus et consul versatus sum in vario genere bellorum, cessare nunc videor quum bella non gero. At Senatui quae sint gerenda praescribo et quomodo: Karthagini male jam diu cogitanti bellum multo ante denuntio, de qua vereri non ante desinam quam illam excisam esse cognovero. 19. Quam palmam utinam Dii immortales, Scipio, tibi reservent, ut avi reliquias persequare, cujus a morte tertius hic et tricesimus annus est: sed memoriam illius viri omnes excipient anni consequentes. Anno ante me censorem mortuus est, novem annis post meum consulatum, quum consul iterum me consule creatus esset. Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis

*At vero,* &c.] 'At' is here used in answer to an argument, which it does not deny, but renders useless by the addition of something else. In (De Sen. c. 7) 'At memoria minuitur. Credo,' &c. an objection is anticipated. It is used (De Sen. 11) both ways: 'At ita,' an anticipated objection; 'At id quidem,' the answer to it. There is an example in the Letter of Matius to Cicero (Ad Fam. xi. 28): "At ludos, quos Caesaris victoriae Caesar adolescens fecit, curavi. At id ad privatum officium non ad statum rei publicae pertinet.'

*Ego vobis,* &c.] When the object is to connect closely the idea *of two persons,* the words must be *placed together.* A comparison of *like passages* will confirm this remark: 'ego vestros patres' (De Sen. 21); 'quem ego meum casum' (De Sen. 23); 'ego vos hortari,' &c. (De Am. 5).

*Novem annis*] The amount of time by which one event differs from another is thus marked, not merely a duration, which as a general rule must be in the accusative. 'Multis annis ante' (De Sen. 9); 'quadriennio post' (id.); De Am. 1, 4, 12.

*Num igitur,*] 'Num' is used in direct questions: "it commonly implies the expectation of an answer in the negative, and 'nonne' in the affirmative" (Key's Grammar, 1419). It is also used when the question is put in the indirect form: 'quaesisse num illud' (De Sen. 7; De Am. 19). In the

eum suae poeniteret? Nec enim excursione nec saltu nec eminus hastis aut cominus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio, ratione, sententia. Quae nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium majores nostri appellassent Senatum. 20. Apud Lacedaemonios quidem ii qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. Quod si legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adolescentibus labefactas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis.

Cedo, quî vestram rem publicam tantam amisistis tam cito?

Sic enim percontantur, ut est in Naevii Ludo. Respondentur et alia et hoc in primis:

Proveniebant oratores novi, stulti adolescentuli.

Temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis.

VII. 21. At memoria minuitur. Credo, nisi eam exerceas aut si sis natura tardior. Themistocles omnium civium perceperat nomina. Num igitur censetis eum, quum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset Lysimachum salutare solitum? Equidem non modo eos novi qui sunt, sed eorum patres etiam et avos. Nec sepulcra legens vereor, quod aiunt, ne memoriam perdam; his enim ipsis

sentence, "num igitur hunc, num Homerum . . . an in omnibus his" (De Sen. 7), it forms a part of the disjunctive question.

*Senatum.*] 'Senatus' seems to be a number of 'senes,' as 'equitatus' is a number of 'equites.' The Romans supposed that their 'Senatus' was so called from the age of the original members of the Senate. (Livy i. 8; Florus i. 1.)

The 'senes' of the Lacedaemonii are the senate (γέροντες), twenty-eight in number. (Plut. Lycurgus, c. 5; Aristot. Pol. ii. 9.)

*Cedo,] The forms 'cĕdŏ,' 'cĕdĕ,'* 'give,' or 'tell,' are all that are used. See Forcellini's Lexicon. This Iambic line is quoted from Naevius, one of the old dramatists of Rome, who probably died B.C. 202. If 'Ludo' is the true reading, which is not quite certain, the quotation may be from a play entitled 'Ludus.' (Festus, s. v. Redhostire.) Orelli discovered that the line 'Proveniebant,' &c. is a Trochaic tetrameter catalectic. But it is the same metre as the line in which the question is put.

7. *Quod aiunt,*] 'As the saying is.' It was, says Erasmus, a

legendis in memoriam redeo mortuorum. Nec vero quemquam senem audivi oblitum quo loco thesaurum obruisset. Omnia quae curant meminerunt; vadimonia constituta; qui sibi, cui ipsi debeant. 22. Quid jurisconsulti, quid pontifices, quid augures, quid philosophi

popular notion that it injured the memory to read sepulchral inscriptions. I do not know where Erasmus got this from.

*In memoriam redeo*] Cicero says (Verr. ii. 1, c. 46), "Nam, quaeso, redite in memoriam, judices, quae istius libido in jure dicundo fuerit." The expression means 'to recall to memory,' as we say.

*Quemquam senem*] So A. has it. Probably there is the better MSS. authority for 'senum;' but 'senem' is perhaps more consistent with usage.

*Omnia quae curant*, &c.] 'Omnia' is the subject, of which is predicated 'meminerunt,' 'they remember;' but 'omnia' is not universal; it is limited in signification by another predicate, 'quae curant,' which is a direct affirmation. Now 'qui sibi, cui ipsi debeant' stand in the same relation of subject to 'meminerunt,' that 'omnia' does; and if something could be predicated of 'qui sibi, cui ipsi debeant,' the verb of predication might be in the indicative mood, like 'curant.'

*Vadimonia constituta;*] 'Constituere,' to fix. 'Vadimonium promittere' (Cic. Verr. ii. 3, c. 15). The following remarks may serve to explain a legal expression, which often occurs: "When the parties appeared *in jure* (that is before the Praetor or other magistrate who had jurisdiction), as a general rule the proceedings before the magistrate were by no means ended on the same day, for the plaintiff now declared to the defendant what kind of action he intended to bring (editio actionis, Dig. 2, tit. 13), and it was necessary that time should be allowed to the defendant to prepare his defence. Accordingly the parties agreed on a time when they should again appear *in jure*, and this engagement is called *vadimonium*, and is comprehended under the general expression *cautio judicio sisti;* it refers to a sum of money as the *poena desertionis*, which in some cases was equal in amount to the matter in dispute, in other cases to one-half, but never exceeded 100,000 sesterces. The defendant had as a general rule to furnish sureties (vades) for the amount of the 'vadimonium;' sometimes the suretyship was dispensed with (*vadimonium purum*); in other cases it was replaced by the oath, or by an immediate condemnation in the amount of the 'poena' by 'recuperatores,' if the 'vadimonium' was broken (Gaius iv. 184—187). Under these circumstances it was manifestly more convenient for the parties to save themselves the first appearance before the court, and instead of the *in jus vocatio* to agree from the first about a day for the actual decision of the question, and secure it by 'vadimonium.'" Puchta, Instit. ii. § 160, 1st ed.

*Quid jurisconsulti*, &c.] It is

senes, quam multa meminerunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria; nec ea solum in claris et honoratis viris, sed in vita etiam privata et quieta. Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragoedias fecit: quod propter studium quum rem negligere familiarem videretur, a filiis in judicium vocatus est ut, quemadmodum nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet, sic illum quasi desipientem a re familiari removerent judices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam quam in manibus habebat et proxime scripserat, Oedipum Coloneum, recitasse judicibus quaesisseque, num illud carmen desipientis videretur. Quo recitato sententiis judicum est liberatus. 23. Num igitur hunc, num Homerum, num

sometimes pointed thus, "Quid? jurisconsulti, quid? pontifices," &c. The pointing is not material, if the meaning is understood, which is this: "Well, jurisconsulti, and pontifices, and augurs, and philosophers of great age, what a number of things they carry in their memory." Then there is another question, whether there should be a note of interrogation after 'meminerunt,' or a note of exclamation; which is just as idle a question as the other. These Latin sentences that begin with 'Quid' are common forms of expression, such as arise in all countries by shortening the complete form, in order to obtain greater brevity with more force. Possibly the Romans of Cicero's time, if they had left us an explanation of this form, would not have agreed in their explanations.

*Patribus*, &c.] 'Patribus' is the dative, and 'bonis' is the ablative. The usual form of expression is this: "tamquam *si illi aqua et igni interdictum sit.*" Cic. Phil. vi. 4. *The reading 'patriis' is rightly rejected; nor is 'patribus'* superfluous. For though the Praetor's interdict extended to all 'prodigi,' persons who were wasting their substance, the present was the case of a father, and therefore 'fathers' are mentioned. See the article 'Curator,' by the author of this note: 'Smith's Dict. of Antiq.' The formula of the Roman Praetor (Paulus, Rec. Sent. iii. tit. iv. A. § 7) states the legal consequence of his interdict and shows the form of expression: "Quando tibi bona paterna avitaque nequitia tua disperdis liberosque tuos ad egestatem perducis, ob eam rem tibi ea re commercioque interdico."

*Oedipum*] The Oedipus at Colonus was the last work of Sophocles, written when he was about ninety years of age. This story about his children is told also by Plutarch in his treatise entitled, Whether an Old Man should take part in Public Affairs (vol. iv. Moral. ed. Wytt).

*Recitare*] This word is used differently from 'legere,' which is generally, not always, a private reading.

Hesiodum, num Simonidem, num Stesichorum, num quos ante dixi, Isocratem, Gorgiam, num philosophorum principes, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem, num Xenocratem, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem, aut eum quem vos etiam vidistis Romae, Diogenem Stoicum, coegit in suis studiis obmutescere senectus, an in omnibus his studiorum agitatio vitae aequalis fuit? 24. Age, ut ista divina studia omittamus, possum nominare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiares meos, quibus absentibus nunquam fere ulla in agro majora opera fiunt, non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis fructibus. Quamquam in illis minus hoc mirum; nemo enim est tam senex qui se annum non putet posse vivere: sed iidem in eis elaborant quae sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere:

Serit arbores quae alteri seculo prosient,

*Diogenem*] After enumerating many of the Greek writers who maintained their activity to a great age, he mentions Diogenes, who came to Rome as an ambassador from the Athenians in B.C. 155, with Critolaus and Carneades. (Gellius vii. 14.) Scipio and Laelius might therefore have seen Diogenes.

*Ut ista*] All the MSS. seem to have 'ista' except two, one of which has 'illa,' and the other omits it.

*Agro Sabino*] 'Ager' is a territory, or district, as 'Ager Sabinus,' 'Ager Romanus.' It also means a possession or property.

*Quamquam in illis*] It is doubtful if this, or 'quamquam in aliis' is the true reading; for the MSS. have both. If 'illis' is right, it refers to the preceding sentence, and the meaning of the words 'nemo enim' is plain. 'In eis' is opposed to 'in illis.' This opposition [illegible] and 'is' is not uncommon. If 'aliis' is right, it means every thing except 'quae sciunt . . . pertinere.'

*Nemo enim est*] The effect of placing a comma after 'senex,' as usual, ought to be to make a reader believe that 'qui se—non putet,' &c. contains a direct predication; whereas it is part of the subject 'senex:' "a man so old as not to think that he may live a year, there is none." The supposition is negatived.

*Serit*] Hermann writes the verse thus:

Serit
Arbores quae alteri saeculo prosient,

making the verse consist of four Cretici. It is more likely that the verse of Statius is an Iambic verse but it requires transposition:

Serit arbores quae prosint alteri seculo.

'Prosint' is the MS. reading. 'Sa

ut ait Statius noster in Synephebis. 25. Nec vero dubitet agricola quamvis senex quaerenti cui serat respondere: Diis immortalibus qui me non accipere modo haec a majoribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere.

VIII. Melius Caecilius de sene alteri saeculo prospiciente quam illud idem:

> Edepol senectus, si nil quidquam aliud vitî
> Apportes tecum, quum advenis, unum id sat est
> Quod diu vivendo multa quae non vult videt.

Et multa fortasse quae vult; atque in ea quidem quae non vult saepe etiam adolescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Caecilius vitiosius:

> Tum equidem in senecta hoc deputo miserrimum,
> Sentire ea aetate esse se odiosum alteri.

26. Jucundum potius quam odiosum. Ut enim adolescentibus bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur, leviorque fit senectus eorum qui a juventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adolescentes senum praeceptis gaudent quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur. Nec minus intelligo me vobis quam mihi vos esse jucundos. Sed videtis ut

rit' is a monosyllable; and 'alteri' a dissyllable.

*Caecilius Statius*] was a Roman writer of comedy, who died B. C. 168. His plays were translations or adaptations of Greek originals.

8. *Illud idem:—Illud vero*] It is in accordance with the sense of 'ille,' to be used in such sentences as these, though 'hoc' might be used; but 'id' could not. Compare such expressions as: "me ipse consolor et maximo illo solatio quod eo errore careo quo," &c. (De Am. 3).

*Ut—sic*] This is one of the most common *forms of expressing a comparison.* "*Ut* sunt, sic etiam nominantur" (De Sen. 6); "ut adolescentem—sic senem" (De Sen. 11). Sometimes 'sic' is placed first: "sic me colitote ut deum" (De Sen. 22); sometimes 'sic' and 'ut' come together, and the practice is to unite them as one word: "sicut aliarum rerum" (De Am. 19). 'Sic' sometimes has for the corresponding word of reference in the prior member of the sentence, in place of 'ut,' the words 'quemadmodum' (De Sen. 7; De Am. 4); and 'tamquam' (Ad Q. Fr. 1).

*Videtis ut—sit,*] "Videtisne ut—praedicet" (De Sen. 10). 'Ut' is one of the forms of the relative, and the dependent clause 'ut—sit'

senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet quale cujusque studium in superiore vita fuit. Quid, qui etiam addiscunt aliquid? ut Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se quotidie aliquid addiscentem dicit senem fieri: ut ego feci qui Graecas litteras senex didici, quas quidem sic avide arripui, quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens, ut ea ipsa mihi nota essent quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis. Quod quum fecisse Socratem in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem etiam illud, discebant enim fidibus antiqui, sed in litteris certe elaboravi.

IX. 27. Nec nunc quidem vires desidero adolescentis, is enim erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis, non plus quam adolescens tauri aut elephanti desiderabam. Quod est eo decet uti: et quidquid agas agere pro viribus. Quae enim vox potest esse contemptior quam Milonis Crotoniatae? qui, quum jam senex esset athletasque se exercentes in curriculo videret, adspexisse lacertos suos dicitur

is the subject of the predication 'videtis.'

*Aliquid addiscentem*, &c.] The words of Solon are (Plutarch, Solon, c. 31):

γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος.

*Vellem equidem etiam illud.*] "I wish I could have done that too." This is part of a sentence in which the condition 'si,' 'if,' is suppressed. 'Vellem equidem' (De Sen. 10). Compare the passage in the letter Ad Q. Fr. 12: "Quamquam in his litteris longior fui quam aut vellem aut quam me putavi fore."

*Discebant—fidibus*] 'Learned to play on a stringed instrument.' There is also the expression "fidibus canere, docere, scire."

9. *Locus*] 'Locus' means a topic, or matter of discourse, in Greek τόπος. "Cum pervestigare argumentum aliquod volumus, locos nosse debemus: sic enim appellatae ab Aristotele sunt hae quasi sedes e quibus argumenta promuntur." (Cic. Top. 2.)

*Quod est*, &c.] This is a good example to show the difference between the indicative and the subjunctive: "what you have, that you should use; and whatever you are doing, do it with your best efforts." The first part of the sentence contains an affirmation, 'quod est.' 'Quidquid agas' contains no direct affirmation, but is the subject of which is predicated 'agere pro viribus decet.' It may be rendered, "if you do a thing, do it as well as you can."

illacrimansque dixisse: At hi quidem mortui jam sunt. Non vero tam isti quam tu ipse, nugator; neque enim ex te unquam es nobilitatus sed ex lateribus et lacertis tuis. Nihil Sex. Aelius tale, nihil multis annis ante Ti. Coruncanius, nihil modo P. Crassus, a quibus jura civibus praescribebantur, quorum usque ad extremum spiritum est provecta prudentia. 28. Orator metuo ne languescat senectute, est enim munus ejus non ingenii solum sed laterum etiam et virium. Omnino canorum illud in voce splendescit etiam nescio quo pacto in senectute, quod equidem adhuc non amisi, et videtis annos. Sed tamen decorus est senis sermo quietus et remissus, facitque persaepe ipsa sibi audientiam diserti senis compta et mitis oratio. Quam si ipse exsequi nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni praecipere et Laelio. Quid enim jucundius senectute stipata studiis juventutis? 29. An ne eas quidem vires senectuti relinquemus ut adolescentulos doceat, instituat, ad omne officii munus instruat? Quo quidem opere quid potest esse praeclarius? Mihi vero Cn. et P. Scipiones et avi tui duo, L. Aemilius et P. Africanus, comitatu nobilium ju-

*At hi quidem*] 'At' also "denotes a sudden emotion of the mind, and is employed in sudden transitions in speech." Key's Grammar, 1445, *d.*

*Jura—praescribebantur*,] The three Romans mentioned in this chapter were 'jurisconsulti' or 'jurisprudentes,' 'men acquainted with the law.' Ti. Coruncanius, who was made Pontifex Maximus about B.C. 254, was the first plebeian Pont. Max. The plural 'jura' has two meanings, corresponding to the two meanings of the singular 'jus,' which is used to express both 'law' generally, and 'a right' or 'legal faculty.' In this passage 'jura' means 'the rules of law,' portions *of the whole 'jus,'* which *these jurists in their 'responsa'* defined *or determined* for their fellow citizens according to the circumstances of the case. There is a reading 'perscribebantur.' 'Prudentia' has here its special or technical meaning of 'juris prudentia.' 'Jurisprudentes' are sometimes simply called 'prudentes.'

*Quam si*] 'Quam' refers to 'oratio.' But the critics say that 'orationem exsequi' is nowhere found; and they alter 'quam' to 'quod.'

*Instituat*,] This is a technical word applied to giving elementary instruction, in law, for instance, as well as in other things (Dig i. 2. 1, § 43). Hence the Roman elementary treatises on law were called 'Institutiones.' See c. 14, 'bene institutis.'

*Avi tui*] This is addressed to Scipio, whose grandfather by adop-

venum fortunati videbantur; nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint. Etsi ista ipsa defectio virium adolescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam senectutis; libidinosa enim et intemperans adolescentia effetum corpus tradit senectuti. 30. Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone quem moriens habuit, quum admodum senex esset, negat se unquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliorem factam quam adolescentia fuisset. Ego L. Metellum memini puer, qui quum quadriennio post alterum consulatum Pontifex Maximus factus esset viginti et duos annos ei sacerdotio praefuit, ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore aetatis ut adolescentiam non requireret. Nihil necesse est mihi de me ipso dicere; quamquam est id quidem senile aetatique nostrae conceditur.

X. 31. Videtisne ut apud Homerum saepissime Nestor de virtutibus suis praedicet? Tertiam enim jam aetatem hominum vivebat, nec erat ei verendum ne vera praedicans de se nimis videretur aut insolens aut loquax. Etenim, ut ait Homerus, ex ejus lingua melle dulcior fluebat oratio, quam ad suavitatem nullis egebat corporis viribus: et tamen dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat ut Ajacis similes habeat decem; at ut Nestoris, quod si acciderit, non

tion was P. Africanus Major (c. 6, notes). His father's father was L. Aemilius, who fell at Cannae (c. 20). The Cn. and P. Scipiones are alluded to in c. 23.

*Apud Xenophontem*] 'Apud' is the common word in such case. The passage referred to is in the last book of the Cyropaedia.

*Requireret.*] 'Did not feel the want of.' "Quum absit ne requiras" (De Sen. 10).

10. *Ex ejus lingua*, &c.] Τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή. Il. i. 249. The passage of Homer which is shortly after referred to is Il. ii. 371, &c.

*At ut Nestoris,*] 'At' seems here to occupy the place which 'sed' would occupy. As in Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, c. 6) "O praeclarum imperatorem, nec jam cum M'. Aquilio, sed vero cum Paulis, Scipionibus conferendum." But the place of 'at' is at the beginning of a sentence or clause. Forcellini gives the following example of 'at' used like 'sed' (Cic. Ad Att. vii. 6), "Non est, inquit, in parietibus res publica, at in aris et focis:" where one MS. has 'sed.' But there should be a full stop after 'publica.' I have put a semicolon after 'decem,' in place of a comma.

dubitat quin brevi sit Troja peritura. 32. Sed redeo ad me. Quartum annum ago et octogesimum: vellem equidem idem posse gloriari quod Cyrus: sed tamen hoc queo dicere, non me quidem iis esse viribus quibus aut miles bello Punico aut quaestor eodem bello aut consul in Hispania fuerim, aut quadriennio post quum tribunus militaris depugnavi apud Thermopylas M'. Acilio Glabrione consule; sed tamen, ut vos videtis, non plane me enervavit nec afflixit senectus; non curia vires meas desiderat, non rostra, non amici, non clientes, non hospites. Nec enim unquam sum assensus veteri illi laudatoque proverbio quod monet, Mature fieri senem, si diu velis esse senex. Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallem quam esse senem ante quam essem. Itaque nemo adhuc convenire me voluit

*Glabrione*] The consul Glabrio defeated king Antiochus at the warm springs (Thermopylae) B.C. 191: and Cato served under him. Livy (xxxvi. 17) calls Cato 'consularis legatus.' There are many instances of Romans serving as 'tribuni militares,' after having been consuls (Livy xlii. 49; and elsewhere).

*Curia—Rostra,*] 'Curia,' the senate-house; 'Rostra,' the place in the forum from which an orator addressed the popular assemblies.

*Mature fieri,* &c.] Cato's objection to the proverb is a sound one in the sense in which he chooses to understand it. The proverb is ambiguous like many proverbs, and therefore good for nothing. "To become an old man in good time," if it means in all respects an old man, is an absurd way of talking. If it means an old man in some respects, it errs on the side of vagueness. But why should a man at any time of life attempt to be that which is not conformable to the time of life? That would be to act against nature. All that the proverb really means is, that a man should not abuse his strength in his youth and manhood; a piece of advice that is best given in plain words.

*Mallem*] 'Mallem' must be distinguished from 'malim,' which implies a present possibility, and is a modest way of saying what a man would prefer. Cato being an old man, whose term of life was near its end, says, "For my part I would rather have been an old man for a shorter time than I have been, than have been an old man before I was one." In the case of 'malis' which occurs a little further on, we must suppose Cicero to mean, 'Which would you choose, if the offer were made to you?' Thus 'mallem' and 'vellem' express a possibility now past; and 'malim' and 'velim' express a present possibility, or a supposed present possibility. See Heindorf, Horat. i. Sat. 1, v. 55.

cui fuerim occupatus. 33. At minus habeo virium quam vestrum utervis. Ne vos quidem T. Pontii centurionis vires habetis: num idcirco est ille praestantior? Moderatio modo virium adsit, et tantum quantum potest quisque nitatur; nae ille non magno desiderio tenebitur virium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus esse Milo dicitur, quum humeris sustineret bovem vivum. Utrum igitur has corporis an Pythagorae tibi malis vires ingenii dari? Denique isto bono utare dum adsit; quum absit ne requiras; nisi forte adolescentes pueritiam, paullum aetate progressi adolescentiam debent requirere. Cursus est certus aetatis et una via naturae eaque simplex, suaque cuique parti aetatis tempestivitas est data, ut et infirmitas puerorum, et ferocitas juvenum, et gravitas jam constantis aetatis, et senectutis maturitas naturale quiddam habeat quod suo tempore percipi debeat. 34. Audire te arbitror, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Masinissa quae faciat hodie nonaginta natus annos; quum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non adscendere; quum equo, ex equo non descendere; nullo imbre, nullo frigore adduci ut capite operto sit; summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem; itaque

*Utrum—an*] This is one of the forms of the disjunctive. Comp. 'utrum—an' (De Am. 8; Ad Q. Fr. 6; and Key's Grammar, 1423).

*Ferocitas*] This word is an example of a large class of English words, derived directly or mediately from the Latin, which have not precisely the signification of the original. There is perhaps not much danger of 'ferocitas' being rendered 'ferocity' in this passage; but the true meaning of it may be overlooked, unless we observe its position between 'infirmitas' and 'gravitas.' It means 'impetuosity' *and the like.*

*Masinissa*] This hardy old African, a Numidian king, is said by Polybius (xxxvii. ed. Bekk.) to have died B.C. 148, at the age of ninety. He was therefore living at the time when this conversation is supposed to have taken place, B.C. 150; but he was not quite ninety then. He left a numerous family behind him, and among his children one only four years of age.

*Siccitatem;*] Ernesti explains 'siccitas' to mean 'healthiness;' but the 'siccitas' is a sign or symptom of health and strength. This 'dryness,' for which we have no word that I know, means the hard, elastic, firm condition of the flesh, as opposed to soft, flaccid, loose flesh: it is a result of a good con-

omnia exsequi regis officia et munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris.

XI. Non sunt in senectute vires. Ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute. Ergo et legibus et institutis vacat aetas nostra muneribus iis quae non possunt sine viribus sustineri. Itaque non modo quod non possumus, sed ne quantum possumus quidem cogimur. 35. At ita multi sunt imbecilli senes ut nullum officii aut omnino vitae munus exsequi possint. At id quidem non proprium senectutis vitium est, sed commune valetudinis. Quam fuit imbecillus P. Africani filius, is qui te adoptavit! quam tenui aut nulla potius valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset lumen civitatis; ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberior accesserat. Quid mirum igitur in senibus, si infirmi sunt aliquando, quum id ne adolescentes quidem effugere possint? Resistendum,

stitution of body, maintained by exercise and temperance. Cicero (Tusc. Qu. v. 34) explains it: "Adde siccitatem, quae consequitur hanc continentiam in victu: adde integritatem valetudinis. Confer sudantes, ructantes, refertos epulis tanquam opimos boves."

11. *Non sunt*, &c.] This is a supposed objection; the answer to which is "ne postulantur quidem," without 'at' prefixed, which might be added.

*Legibus*, &c.] 'Leges' means positive enactments: 'institutis' here does not differ from 'moribus,' 'custom.' It appears from the note of Manutius, that 'vacare' has been taken by some interpreters in the sense of 'dare operam,' a meaning which it sometimes has (Ovid, Fast. iii. 6). But here it means 'to be released from munera,' to have what the Romans called 'excusatio,' a legal ground of excuse or exemption, as, for instance, from military service. See 'lamentis vacare,' c. 20.

*At ita—At id*] See c. 6, notes.

*Filius, is*] The common punctuation is 'Africani filius is, qui te adoptavit,' which is absurd. The meaning is, "the son of Africanus, he, I mean, who adopted you."

*Resistendum*, &c.] In this lies the main matter of the argument: "we must resist old age, and make amends for its defects by care and activity: we must struggle against old age as we would against a disease." Every age may be weak and sickly: youth, indeed, is exposed to more violent and dangerous diseases than old age, which in itself is a period of life marked by its peculiar character, as much as youth or vigorous manhood. Dis-

Laeli et Scipio, senectuti est, ejusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt: pugnandum tamquam contra morbum sic contra senectutem. 36. Habenda ratio valetudinis; utendum exercitationibus modicis; tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. Nec vero corpori soli subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis; nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguuntur senectute. Et corpora quidem exercitatione ingravescunt: animi autem se exercendo levantur. Nam quos ait Caecilius

——comicos stultos senes,

hos significat credulos, obliviosos, dissolutos; quae vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis, ignavae, somniculosae

ease is common to every age, not peculiar to old age, which may be, and often is, the healthiest period of life. But with diminished strength and feebler appetites and impulses, old age brings a disposition to inactivity, which is the disease of that period of life. The remedy is to resist, to act to the end of life with all the vigour of which we are capable. Thus old age may be almost indefinitely prolonged. He who follows the proverb "mature senem fieri," in the sense of giving way to the insidious attacks of old age, who retires into inactivity and indulgence, will find old age really a disease, which will soon be terminated by death. But such a man has not reached the limit of his age; he has abridged his life by sloth, as youth often abridges its period of existence by intemperance, one form of excessive activity.

*Exercitatione*] There is a reading '*exercitatio*num defatigatione,' and other varieties, from which it appears that 'defatigatione' should be in the text, according to the MSS. Yet it seems to spoil the sense, which is that the body becomes heavy, wearied by exercise, but the mind is lightened by its exercise. He seems to mean the body and the mind of the old. See De Off. i. 34: "Senibus autem," &c.

*Animi autem*, &c.] Experience proves that mental activity is favourable to the prolongation of life. He who has naturally a healthy body, and has not anticipated the years of old age by excess in youth, may enjoy an old age of very long duration by moderate exercise of the body, temperance in all things, and the uninterrupted exercise of the mental powers on some fitting object. The energy of the will and the activity of the understanding can even maintain life against pain and disease.

*Comicos*] The whole verse is quoted De Am. c. 26. The 'comici senes' are the old fools who appear in the comedies.

senectutis. Ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adolescentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adolescentium, sed non proborum; sic ista senilis stultitia, quae deliratio appellari solet, senum levium est, non omnium. 37. Quattuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat et caecus et senex. Intentum enim animum tamquam arcum habebat, nec languescens succumbebat senectuti. Tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos: metuebant servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes habebant; vigebat in illa domo mos patrius et disciplina. 38. Ita enim senectus honesta est si se ipsa defendit, si jus suum retinet, si nemini mancipata est, si usque ad ultimum spiritum domi-

*Imperium in suos:*] 'Imperium' should be translated 'dominion,' 'mastery,' or some equivalent expression: for the term is an application of the sense of consular or praetorian 'imperium.' The contrast of 'metuebant' and 'verebantur' explains the meaning of the two terms.

*Ita—si*] 'Ita' has reference to the condition expressed by 'si—defendit,' and it should be translated in such a way as to maintain its place: "for it is on these conditions that old age is honourable, that it is its own defender, that it retains its personal independence, that it is subjected to no one." Cicero's expressions are legal terms, and difficult to render exactly. A person was either 'sui juris,' for instance, one who was not under the parental power (patria potestas), or he was not. "Nam quaedam personae sui juris sunt, quaedam alieno juri sunt subjectae." (Gaius i. 48.) The reading 'emancipata,' which Nonius and some MSS. have, is incorrect, for the genuine word is 'mancipata;' 'mancipatio' is the form by which a person who was not 'sui juris' was transferred to the 'potestas' of another, as in the case of adoption. (Gellius v. 19.) It was also the form used in 'emancipatio,' by which a person who was not 'sui juris' was made 'sui juris.' 'Mancipare' and 'emancipare' are sometimes confounded in the MSS.; but that is no reason why editors should confound them. As 'emancipatus' means 'set free,' the expression 'nemini emancipata est' is a contradiction. The passage in Horace (Ep. 9) 'emancipatus feminae,' if it is right, is a false use of the word. The other examples (see Macleane's Horace, p. 296) are easily corrected. The passage in Valerius Maximus (viii. 6. 3), where he makes a man 'emancipate' land, is a gross blunder. (See Savigny, Das Recht des Besitzes, p. 175, 5th ed.) Cicero means to say, that the old man must not allow himself to fall into a state of dependence, similar to that of a person who is mancipated.

natur in suos. Ut enim adolescentem in quo senile aliquid, sic senem in quo est aliquid adolescentis probo; quod qui sequitur corpore senex esse poterit, animo nunquam erit. Septimus mihi Originum liber est in manibus: omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo: causarum illustrium quascunque defendi nunc quum maxime conficio orationes: jus augurium, pontificium, civile tracto: multum etiam Graecis litteris utor, Pythagoreorumque more exercendae memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim, audierim, egerim, commemoro vesperi. Hae sunt exercitationes ingenii, haec curricula mentis: in his desudans atque elaborans corporis vires non magno opere desidero. Adsum amicis: venio in Senatum frequens ultroque affero res multum et diu cogitatas, easque tueor animi non corporis viribus. Quae si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus oblectaret meus ea ipsa cogitantem quae jam agere non possem; sed ut possim facit acta vita. Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intelligitur quando obrepat senectus. Ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit; nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate exstinguitur.

*Jus augurium*, &c.] Ernesti's reading is "jus augurum, pontificum." As we say, "jus civile Romanorum," so perhaps we might say, "jus augurum," but the adjective is the better form according to analogy, though it has not the most MSS. in its favour.

*Pythagoreorum*] Cato does it to exercise the memory only, as he says. The Pythagorean verses, as they are called, recommend it as a moral discipline; and none could be better:

μήδ' ὕπνον μαλακοῖσιν ἐπ' ὄμμασι προσδέξασθαι, &c.

*Ultroque*, &c.] The absurd translation of this word by 'voluntarily' should be exploded. It is difficult to conceive how 'ultro' has been supposed to contain 'vol,' the root of 'volo.' 'Citra,' 'citro,' respectively correspond to 'ultra' and 'ultro:' 'ultro' contains the element of 'ille,' 'il,' or 'ol,' and as 'ultra' means "on that or the further side," so 'ultro' means "towards the further or remoter place." It may accordingly mean 'further,' 'moreover,' 'even,' 'besides,' and this seems to be the meaning here; as it is certainly in another passage of Cicero (Verr. ii. 3, c. 98): "etiamne in cellam quum cupiant gratis dare, ultro pecuniam grandem addere?"

*Viventi non*, &c.] 'To a man who spends his life in such pursuits and labours,' as Otto rightly explains the dative 'viventi.'

XII. 39. Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis, si quidem id aufert nobis quod est in adolescentia vitiosissimum! Accipite enim, optimi adolescentes, veterem orationem Archytae Tarentini, magni in primis et praeclari viri, quae mihi tradita est quum essem adolescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo: "Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam corporis voluptatem hominibus dicebat a natura datam, cujus voluptatis avidae libidines temere et effrenate ad potiundum incitarentur. 40. Hinc patriae proditiones, hinc rerum publicarum eversiones, hinc cum hostibus clandestina colloquia nasci; nullum denique scelus, nullum malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis impelleret; stupra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagitium nullis excitari aliis illecebris nisi voluptatis. Quumque homini sive natura sive quis Deus nihil mente praestabilius dedisset, huic divino muneri ac dono nihil esse tam inimicum quam voluptatem. 41. Nec enim libidine dominante temperantiae locum esse, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intelligi posset, fingere animo jubebat tanta incitatum aliquem voluptate corporis quanta percipi posset maxima: nemini censebat fore dubium quin tamdiu, dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi posset. Quocirca nihil esse tam detestabile tamque pestiferum quam voluptatem: si quidem ea,

12. *Quod — dicunt*] 'Quod' here connects one proposition with another. There are two distinct propositions, and the second explains the first. "Follows the third head of complaint against old age, this they say, that it has no pleasures." 'Quod' is the accusative, and depends on 'dicunt,' and the whole 'quod . . . voluptatibus' *discharges the part of* a *nominative. The next example is* still clearer: "summa laus senectutis est quod ea voluptates nullas magno opere desiderat." (De Sen. 13.)

*Aufert nobis*] Or 'aufert a nobis,' for which there is good authority.

*Nullam*, &c.] This is an example of the indirect form of expression, where the words of a person are reported by another. The infinitive and subjunctive only are used.

quum major esset atque longinquior, omne animi lumen exstingueret." Haec cum C. Pontio Samnite, patre ejus a quo Caudino praelio Sp. Postumius T. Veturius consules superati sunt, locutum Archytam Nearchus Tarentinus, hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani permanserat, se a majoribus natu accepisse dicebat, quum quidem ei sermoni interfuisset Plato Atheniensis, quem Tarentum venisse L. Camillo Appio Claudio consulibus reperio. 42. Quorsus haec? Ut intelligatis, si voluptatem aspernari ratione et sapientia non possemus, magnam habendam senectuti gratiam quae effecerit ut id non liberet quod non oporteret. Impedit enim consilium voluptas; rationi inimica est ac mentis, ut ita dicam, praestringit oculos, nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium. Invitus feci ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem L. Flamininum e

*Longinquior*] There is better MS. authority for this than 'longior.' Cicero (Fin. ii. 29) uses 'longinquus' in this sense.

*Plato*] This visit of Plato to Tarentum, as determined by the years of the Roman consuls, would be B.C. 349, for these are the consuls of that year. Plato died at Athens, B.C. 347. Cicero's statement may be wrong about the time of Plato's visit to Tarentum. He says elsewhere (Fin. v. 29; Tusc. i. 17) that Plato came to Italy to get the learning of the Pythagoreans; of whom Archytas was one. Cato here says that he heard this discourse from Nearchus, who heard it from his elders; and the testimony of Nearchus was that Archytas addressed his discourse to C. Pontius the father of the Pontius who caught the Romans in the defile at Caudium, B.C. 321 (Liv. ix. 1—3). But Livy calls the Samnite general who humbled the Romans, C. Pontius, and his father he names Herennius.

*Quae effecerit—oporteret.*] This is generally translated, and there is no objection to the translation: "we ought to feel greatly obliged to old age for making us feel no inclination to that which we ought not to do;" and the clause that begins with 'quae' is said to express the reason of the thing that is asserted. But there is no logical conclusion in this sentence; the proposition is, that "to old age thanks are due, to old age which takes away the inclination to do that which we ought not to do." It would be very easy to say, "magna habenda senectuti gratia, quae efficit ut id," &c.; but then 'quae efficit' would contain a direct affirmation, which makes the difference between this form and the other. An example will show how easily either form might take the place of the other: "habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam quae . . . auxit." (De Sen. 14.)

Senatu ejicerem septem annis post quam consul fuisset; sed notandam nimiam putavi libidinem. Ille enim quum esset Consul, in Gallia exoratus in convivio a scorto est ut securi feriret aliquem eorum qui in vinculis essent damnati rei capitalis. Hic Tito fratre suo censore, qui proximus ante me fuerat, elapsus est; mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido quae cum probro privato conjungeret imperii dedecus.

XIII. 43. Saepe audivi a majoribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fabricium quod, quum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cinea, esse quendam Athenis qui se sapientem profiteretur, eumque dicere omnia quae facere-

*Notandam*] 'Nota' or 'censoria nota,' was the technical term to signify that a man had fallen under the censors' animadversion. Livy says, "Patrum memoria institutum ferunt ut censores motis senatu adscriberent notas." Hence the term 'notare' is often used to signify generally any mark of disapprobation, such as opinion has fixed on a man for his conduct. The scandalous story of L. Flamininus is told in Livy (xxxix. 42), and by Plutarch (Life of the Elder Cato, c. 17, and Life of T. Flamininus, c. 19), with some discrepancies. Plutarch in the Life of the Elder Cato (c. 17) refers to this passage of Cicero, and also to the passage of Livy. Many MSS. have 'notandam nimiam putavi,' which I have now followed. See A.'s note.

13. *Mirari — quod — audisset*] This is the true construction, 'mirari . . . quod . . . audisset,' 'wondered at what he heard from Cineas, that there was *one at Athens,*' &c. See c. 1, note. Cineas was employed by king Pyrrhus, and sent by him to treat with the Romans. Plutarch (Pyrrh. c. 20) tells the story that Cicero does here.

*Omnia—ad voluptatem*] Epicurus is the man. He did not mean only sensual pleasure, when he spoke of pleasure being the measure or standard to which all things were to be referred. If in place of pleasure we substitute the word 'happiness,' we have a modern doctrine which has had some vogue; that happiness is the object of man's existence, that happiness should be his pursuit. No doubt a man should not pursue his misery, though he often does so, or acts in such a way that misery is the consequence. But the pursuit of happiness is too vague a rule for practice. It matters not that, if rightly understood, the pursuit of happiness coincides with the doing of a man's duty, the only practical rule of life. The simple fact, that in order to justify the doctrine of the pursuit of happiness, we must put it in such a

mus ad voluptatem esse referenda; quod ex eo audientes M'. Curium et T. Coruncanium optare solitos ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent quum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat M'. Curius cum P. Decio qui quinquennio ante eum consulem se pro re publica quarto consulatu devoverat. Norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius, qui quum ex sua vita, tum ex ejus quem dico P. Decii facto judicabant esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque praeclarum quod sua sponte peteretur, quodque spreta et contempta voluptate optimus quisque sequeretur. 44. Quorsum igitur tam multa de voluptate? Quia non modo vituperatio nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est quod ea voluptates nullas magno opere desiderat. At caret epulis exstructisque mensis et frequentibus poculis. Caret ergo etiam vinolentia et cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est voluptati, quoniam ejus blanditiis non facile obsistimus, divine enim Plato escam malorum appellat voluptatem, quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut hamo pisces, quamquam immoderatis epulis caret senectus, modicis tamen conviviis potest delectari. C. Duilium,

form that the wisest and best men will not dispute it, shows that the general expression is vague, and that people may interpret it differently. Besides, many persons who think that they are wise enough to know how to pursue their happiness, are only pursuing the gratification of some particular propensities, as love of wealth, exalted station, and so forth; and most generally without any belief that they are on the whole pursuing their happiness. The doctrine is unsound in whatever way it is put. *It is one* of the many theories *broached in* modern times, which *have been* broached before, been tried, and have failed. The noble Roman P. Decius (the story is in Livy x. 28), who sacrificed his life for his country, acted under the conviction of his duty to die for his country; an imperfect conception of duty, but still it was a sense of duty. The doctrine of happiness would have made him save his life.

*At caret*, &c.] In some editions a note of interrogation is incorrectly placed after 'poculis.' 'At' is omitted in many MSS.

*Quamquam—caret*] There is a reading 'careat,' which some editors prefer.

M. F., qui Poenos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a coena senem saepe videbam puer; delectabatur crebro funali et tibicine quae sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpserat: tantum licentiae dabat gloria. 45. Sed quid ego alios? Ad meipsum jam revertar. Primum habui semper sodales. Sodalitates autem me quaestore constitutae sunt, sacris Idaeis Magnae Matris acceptis. Epulabar igitur cum sodalibus omnino modice, sed erat quidam fervor aetatis, qua progrediente omnia fiunt in dies mitiora. Neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis quam coetu amicorum et sermonibus metiebar. Bene enim majores nostri accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae conjunctionem haberet, convivium nominarunt; melius quam Graeci qui hoc idem tum compotationem, tum concoenationem vocant; ut quod in eo genere minimum est id maxime probare videantur.

*M. F.,*] See De Am. c. 1, note.

*Crebro funali*] Several MSS. have 'cereo,' which is supposed to be supported by the passage in Valerius Maximus (iii. 6); but Cicero means to say, that Duilius had several lights and more pipers than one. And so the story is told by Florus (ii. c. 2). 'Credo,' the reading of some MSS., obviously means 'crebro.' This jovial old Roman was the admiral who gained a great naval victory over the Carthaginians near the Lipari islands, B.C. 260; and his exploit was commemorated by the Duilian column.

*Sodalitates*] These 'sodalitates' were clubs (in Greek συσσίτια), not political, which the Romans wisely did not allow, but for social purposes. The nature of these 'sodalitates' is explained by Savigny, System, &c. ii. 255. They differ from the spurious English club in their social character, for dining together was the main thing. The genuine English club is convivial like the Roman. Yet these associations sometimes assumed a political character (Cic. ad Q. Fr. ii. 3), and became in times of excitement the centres of political factions, as they may become in any country. The time when these clubs were established is here fixed by the occasion of the religious ceremonies of Cybele, the Great Mother, being introduced at Rome. The story of the Mater Deum being brought to Rome from Pessinus in Phrygia, B.C. 203, is told in Livy (xxix. 11). The Mater Deum was a stone. The Megalesia or Megalenses Ludi were instituted in honour of the goddess.

*Compotationem,*] The Greek συμπόσιον. 'Concoenatio' represents συσσίτια.

XIV. 46. Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem tempestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum aequalibus solum qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum vestra etiam aetate atque vobiscum: habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit. Quod si quem etiam ista delectant, ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati cujus est etiam fortasse quidam naturalis motus, non intelligo ne in istis quidem voluptatibus ipsis carere sensu senectutem. Me vero et magisteria delectant a majoribus instituta; et is sermo qui more majorum a summo adhibetur in poculis; et pocula, sicut in symposio Xenophontis est, minuta atque rorantia, et refrigeratio aestate, et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus. Quae quidem etiam in Sabinis persequi soleo, conviviumque vicinorum quotidie compleo, quod ad multam noctem quam maxime possumus vario sermone producimus. 47. At non est voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in senibus. Credo: sed ne desideratio quidem. Nihil autem molestum

14. *Motus,*] Ernesti has 'modus,' the reading of many of the MSS.; but the context is in favour of 'motus.'

*Magisteria*] The president of an entertainment was '*magister,*' in Greek *συμποσίαρχος*. Allusions to this practice are common in the Roman writers (Horat. Carm. i. 4). The word 'magistro,' which follows 'summo' in some MSS., appears to be merely the addition of some copyist, made by way of explanation. 'A summo' means him who occupied what was called the 'summus locus.' The 'magister' would propose a subject for discussion, and give his own opinion first. Philosophy and drink were mingled; but in order *that philosophy* should not be overpowered *by drink*, the cups must *be small* '*minuta,*' and '*rorantia,*' light and dewy, not drenching, like a heavy rain. Cicero had in his memory the words of the Symposium of Xenophon (ii. 26): *ἢν δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ παῖδες μικραῖς κύλιξι πυκνὰ ἐπιψακάζωσιν*, &c.

*In Sabinis*] 'In the Sabine country,' where Cato's estate was, c. 7. Plutarch (Cato Major, c. 1).

*Nihil autem*, &c.] It is not correct to render this: "nothing gives a man any pain which he does not want." "Non est molestum id quod non desideras" is good Latin, but it contains the distinct negation, "not wanting a thing." The sentence in Cicero is a predication of an hypothetical sentence: "nothing gives a man any trouble if he does not feel the want of it." A little further on we have an example of a sentence with the two direct propositions in it, "non caret

quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, quum ex eo quidam jam affecto aetate quaereret, utereturne rebus venereis; Dii meliora! inquit: libenter vero istinc sicut a domino agresti ac furioso profugi. Cupidis enim rerum talium odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere; satiatis vero et expletis jucundius est carere quam frui. Quamquam non caret is qui non desiderat. Ego non desiderare dico esse jucundius. 48. Quod si istis ipsis voluptatibus bona aetas fruitur libentius, primum parvulis fruitur rebus, ut diximus; deinde iis quibus senectus, si non abunde potitur, non omnino caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultima; sic adolescentia voluptates propter intuens magis fortasse laetatur, sed delectatur etiam senectus procul eas spectans tantum quantum sat est. 49. At illa quanti sunt, animum, tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionis, inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnium, secum

is qui non desiderat," "he who does not feel the want of a thing, cannot be said to be without it." If we say of a man, 'non desiderat,' then it may be further said, 'non caret;' but these are direct propositions. The words 'cupidis—satiatis,' in this section (47), are capable of being transformed into equivalent expressions with 'qui' and a verb.

*Non caret*] Cicero (Tusc. i. 36) says: "Carere igitur hoc significat, egere eo quod habere velis: inest enim velle in carendo; nisi, &c."

*Bona aetas*] The 'bona aetas,' as it is called, is 'adolescentia;' as old age is called a 'mala aetas' in a verse of Afranius, cited by Fulvio Orsini—

"Mala aetas nulla delinimenta invenit."

*Turpione Ambivio*] He was an actor, whose name appears in the 'didascaliae' of the plays of Terence. According to this passage he was a contemporary of Cato. The Andria of Terence was first acted at the Megalesia, B.C. 166, and the Adelphi, B.C. 160, at the funeral games of L. Aemilius Paulus.

*Prima cavea*] In the front part of the 'cavea.' The 'cavea' was the place in a theatre in which the spectators sat; the 'hollow' as compared with the stage. Comp. De Am. 7.

*Propter*] So Cicero says (Verr. ii. 4, c. 48): "Etenim propter est spelunca quaedam." That 'propter' is often thus used without a case is shown by Wunder.

*Emeritis stipendiis*] A man in old age is aptly compared to a veteran who has served his time in the army, and has retired.

esse secumque, ut dicitur, vivere! Si vero habet aliquod tamquam pabulum studii atque doctrinae, nihil est otiosa senectute jucundius. Mori paene videbamus in studio dimetiendi caeli atque terrae C. Gallum familiarem patris tui, Scipio. Quoties illum lux noctu aliquid describere ingressum, quoties nox oppressit, quum mane coepisset! Quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et lunae multo nobis ante praedicere! 50. Quid in levioribus studiis sed tamen acutis? Quam gaudebat bello suo Punico Naevius! quam Truculento Plautus! quam Pseudolo! Vidi etiam senem Livium, qui quum sex annis ante quam ego natus sum fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adolescentiam meam processit aetate. Quid de P. Licinii Crassi et pontificii et civilis juris studio loquar? aut de hujus P. Scipionis qui his paucis diebus Pontifex Maximus factus est? Atqui eos omnes quos commemoravi

*Mori paene*] The collocation of the words in this passage is according to the emendation of Graevius. A Roman astronomer was rather a rarity. This Gallus is C. Sulpicius Gallus, who served under L. Aemilius Paulus in the Macedonian war, B.C. 168, and predicted an eclipse of the moon to the army (Liv. xliv. 37), telling them that it was a natural event, and merely caused by the earth's shadow.

*Acutis?*] "Lighter pursuits, but still such as sharpen the understanding."

*Naevius!*] From this it may be inferred that Naevius wrote his poem on the Punic war when he was an old man; and that the Pseudolus and Truculentus of Plautus were among the poet's late productions.

*Livium,*] This is Livius Andronicus, a Greek by birth, and the first writer of Latin plays. His first play was acted B.C. 240, i the year of the consuls who a mentioned in the text. The e pression "fabulam docere" is sa of the poet who wrote the pl and looked after its getting u The actors were said 'discer 'Docere' corresponds to the Gre expression διδάσκειν.

*Crassi*] This is P. Licini Crassus, who died B.C. 183 at great age. The P. Scipio of who Cato speaks as his contempora and as an old man, was P. Co nelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, w was made Pontifex Maximus B.C. 150, as we learn from th passage.

M. Cethegus, 'suaviloquenti o as Ennius calls him, died B.C. 19 The verses of Ennius are quot by Cicero in his Brutus, c. 15.

*His paucis diebus*] 'A f days ago.' Comp. Cicero (Ve ii. 4, c. 18): "paucis illis diebus

*Atqui*] Some MSS. have '

his studiis flagrantes senes vidimus. M. vero Cethegum quem recte Suadae medullam dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrinae. Quae quidem prudentibus et bene institutis pariter cum aetate crescunt, ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, ut ante dixi, senescere se multa in dies addiscentem; qua voluptate animi nulla certe potest esse major.

XV. 51. Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum quibus ego incredibiliter delector, quae nec ulla impediuntur senectute et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere. Habent enim rationem cum terra quae nunquam recusat imperium, nec unquam sine usura reddit quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque majore cum fenore. Quamquam me quidem non fructus modo sed etiam ipsius terrae vis ac natura delectat; quae quum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen excepit, primum id occoecatum cohibet, ex quo occatio quae hoc efficit nominata est; deinde tepefactum vapore et compressu suo diffindit et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem; quae nixa fibris

que;' but 'atqui' appears to be the true reading. There is another instance in c. 17, "atqui ego omnia ista."

15. *Nec—et*] This form of expression occurs again in this chapter: "nec modico tepore caret, et."

*Imperium,*] P. Manutius altered this MS. reading into 'impendium;' but injudiciously, as I think.

*Occoecatum*] Some MSS. have 'occatum.' 'Obcoecari' is applied by Columella (ii. 2) to covered drains, as *opposed to 'patentes,' 'open drains.' 'Occoecare'* must mean that the grain is covered, and, if that is the right reading, we should expect to find 'occoecatio,' not 'occatio;' and there is a reading 'occoecatio.' 'Occa-re' means to pulverize the earth by drawing hurdles over, or by using a rake or something of the kind: "Pulverationem faciunt quam vocant rustici occationem, quum omnis gleba in vineis refringitur et resolvitur in pulverem." (Colum. xi. 2.) Cicero may have intended to give the etymology of 'occo;' but if he did, he was as unsuccessful as his countrymen often were in such attempts.

stirpium sensim adolescit, culmoque erecta geniculat vaginis jam quasi pubescens includitur; e quibus quum emersit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam et contra avium minorum morsus munitur vallo aristarum. 52. Quid ego vitium ortus, satus, incrementa commemorem? Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meae senectutis requietem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium quae generantur e terra, quae ex fici tantulo grano aut ex acini vinaceo aut ex ceterarum frugum ac stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procrea[t]. Malleoli, plantae, sarmenta, viviradices, propagines, nonn[e] ea efficiunt ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem quae natura caduca est et nisi fulta sit fertur ad terram, eadem ut se erigat claviculis suis quasi manibu[s] quidquid est nacta complectitur; quam serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico ferro amputans coercet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in omnes partes nimi[a] fundatur. 53. Itaque ineunte vere in iis quae relicta sun[t] exsistit tamquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea quae gemm[a] dicitur, a qua oriens uva sese ostendit; quae et succ[o]

*Culmo—geniculato*] Cicero is speaking of the plants which are grasses, wheat, barley, and the like, which have a jointed (geniculatus) haulm, culm, or stem (culmus), and a fibrous root (fibris). The 'vagina' is the leaf or sheath which protects the future 'spica' or ear (Varro, De Re R. i. 48). The fruit or grain is 'structa spici ordine.' The 'spica' or 'spicus' of barley and wheat, according to Varro, has three component parts, 'granum,' 'gluma,' and 'arista.'

*Acini*] There is a reading 'acini,' and also 'acino.' It is disputed whether 'acinus' is the whole grape or a grape stone. See Casaubon's note on Sueton. Aug. c. 76, ed. Burmann. 'Acinus' seems to be properly the grap[e]. 'Vinaceus' or 'vinaceum' is [the] grain or grape stone, as we call i[t]. In form 'vinaceo' is an adjectiv[e], but there is no passage where it [is] used as an adjective, unless w[e] read 'acino vinaceo' here.

*Malleoli*, &c.] "'Malleoli' a[re] cuttings from the vine, which be[ing] stuck in the earth take roo[t]. 'Viviradices' are made by bendin[g] a shoot down to the earth, whe[n] it strikes root, and is then cut o[ff] from the old stock." (Savigny, Vermischt. Schrift. ii. 156.) Bu[t] the 'viviradix' seems to be the cut[ting] that has been planted, and ha[s] got a root (Varro, De R. R. i. 39, 40) and the 'propagines' are the layer[s]

terrae et calore solis augescens primo est peracerba gustatu, deinde maturata dulcescit, vestitaque pampinis nec modico tepore caret et nimios solis defendit ardores. Qua quid potest esse tum fructu laetius tum adspectu pulchrius? Cujus quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura et ipsa natura delectat: adminiculorum ordines, capitum jugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorumque ea quam dixi aliorum amputatio aliorum immissio. Quid ego irrigationes, quid fossiones agri repastinationesque proferam quibus fit multo terra fecundior? 54. Quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? dixi in eo libro quem de rebus rusticis scripsi, de qua doctus Hēsiŏdus ne verbum quidem fecit quum de cultura agri scriberet: at Homerus, qui multis, ut mihi videtur, ante seculis fuit, Laertem lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vero segetibus solum et pratis et vineis et arbustis res rusticae laetae sunt, sed etiam hortis et pomariis; tum pecudum pastu, apium examinibus, florum omnium varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant sed etiam insitiones, quibus nihil invenit agricultura sollertius.

*Capitum jugatio,*] Varro (De R. R. i. 8) explains this. The tops of the vines are tied together, and supported 'in modum jugi.'

*Immissio.*] The context explains it. Some of the 'sarmenta' or shoots are cut off; others have their ends put in the ground to take root. 'Pastinare' and 'repastinare' is to dig and turn over the ground.

*Hesiodus*] The poem entitled Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι, "Works and Days," is supposed to be alluded to. But nobody would expect to find any thing about dunging there.

*At Homerus,*] 'At' in this passage appears to be used as in the passage c. 10, 'at Nestoris,' &c.

*Homerus,*] In the Odyssey (xxiv. 226) Ulysses finds his father somewhat differently employed—

τὸν δ' οἶον πατέρ' εὗρεν ἐϋκτιμένῃ ἐν ἀλωῇ
λιστρεύοντα φυτόν.

The old man was forking about the vines and clearing them. Not a word about dunging in the original, which has troubled the critics; but Cicero may have understood the passage right. Laertes might be stirring the earth and putting manure in.

*Consitiones*] 'Consitiones' is

XVI. 55. Possum persequi multa oblectamenta rerun rusticarum; sed ea ipsa quae dixi fuisse sentio longiora Ignoscetis autem; nam et studio rerum rusticarum pro vectus sum, et senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab omni bus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vita M'. Cu rius, quum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumph asset, consumpsit extremum tempus aetatis; cujus quiden ego villam contemplans, abest enim non longe a me, ad mirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius continentian vel temporum disciplinam. Curio ad focum sedenti mag num auri pondus Samnites quum attulissent, repudiat sunt; non enim aurum habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit sed eis qui haberent aurum imperare. 56. Poteratn tantus animus non efficere jucundam senectutem? Se venio ad agricolas, ne a me ipso recedam. In agris eran tum senatores, id est senes; siquidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum cujus dictatoris jussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahal Sp. Maelium regnum appetentem occupatum interemit

the planting of stocks or young fruit trees. 'Insitiones' is ingrafting, and perhaps putting in eyes also; both which operations were well known to Roman gardeners. Ovid, Met. xiv. 630; Virg. Geo. ii. 78; Varro, De R. R. i. 40.

16. *Villam*] The wealthy Romans had their 'villae urbanae;' either detached country houses, or the part of a villa which was inhabited by the proprietor was called 'urbana,' by way of opposition to the 'villa rustica,' the part in which the 'villicus,' or the overseer resided. 'Solum' is the general term for 'ground.' 'Praedium' is a portion of 'solum.' A *piece of ground*, taken as a whole, *is 'fundus:'* a 'locus' is a portion *of a 'fundus.'* With respect to situation, 'praedia' are 'rustica or 'urbana.' A building on a 'praedium rusticum' is a 'villa:' on a 'praedium urbanum' it is 'aedes.' A spot of ground in the country without buildings is 'ager:' in a town a place without building is 'area.' (Dig. 50, tit. 16, s. 27 115, 211.) The word 'villa' has the appearance of a diminutive though Varro's implied derivation of it from 'veho' is perhaps a mistake. (De Ling. Lat. v. 35.)

*Curio*] The same story is told by Plutarch (Cat. Maj. c. 2) and by other writers.

*In agris*] 'In agris' is in the country, 'ruri.'—'id est senes:' o 'et iidem senes,' as some MSS have it.

Occupatum] Some MSS. hav

A villa in Senatum arcessebantur et Curius et ceteri senes, ex quo qui eos arcessebant viatores nominati sunt. Num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit qui se agri cultione oblectabant? Mea quidem sententia haud scio an nulla beatior possit esse, neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione quam dixi, et saturitate copiaque rerum omnium quae ad victum hominum, ad cultum etiam Deorum pertinent; ut, quoniam haec quidam desiderant, in gratiam jam cum voluptate redeamus. Semper enim boni assiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam pe-

'et occupatum,' and others 'et occupare volentem.' 'Occupatum' is the better reading. 'Occupare' often means 'to anticipate,' 'to be the first,' and the passage may be rendered: "he cut Ahala short by killing him." A past participle in connexion with a verb often implies an act done before the act which is expressed by the verb.

It was in the second dictatorship of Cincinnatus that Ahala killed Maelius. The story is in Livy (iv. 13).

*Viatores*] A 'viator' was a summoning officer or other functionary who carried a message or summons on public or legal business. (Gellius xii. 3; xiii. 12.) The verb 'arcesso' must be compared with 'lacesso,' 'facesso,' 'capesso;' and the root is 'ci,' to summon or call. 'Ar' is the preposition 'ad,' as we see in the Bacchanalian inscription 'arfuise,' that is 'adfuisse.' Professor Key refers to Plautus, Truc. ii. 2, 7, for the use of 'ar' by itself. See his Grammar, 547, 1312.

*Haud scio an*] 'An' is only thus used with 'haud scio,' 'nescio,' 'dubito,' '*incertum.*' *The expression means that the writer is inclined* to adopt the opinion which the dependent clause would express, if it were turned into a direct proposition: "in my opinion, at least I am inclined to that opinion, none can be happier;" whence it appears that the reading 'nulla,' which Ernesti has adopted, is better than 'ulla,' which Orelli has. Comp. the passages in De Sen. 20; De Am. 6, 12, 14; Ad Q. Fr. 10. Whether the dependent sentence should contain a negation or not, will depend on the fact, whether the proposition which is implied in it is positive or negative. It is possible, however, that there might be something loose in the use of this phrase, for there is nothing in language so variable as the use of the negative. On 'haud scio an,' see Key's Grammar, 1421.

*Assiduique*] There are two words 'assiduus,' one of which contains 'ad,' and the root 'sede:' the other is a compound of 'assi' and 'du,' one of the forms of 'da.' See Cicero, Topic. c. 2. Here it seems to mean 'attentive to his farm.'

*Cella—penaria*] This is the storehouse (cella) for the 'penus;'

naria est, villaque tota locuples est: abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle. Jam hortum ipsi agricolae succidiam alteram appellant. Conditiora facit haec supervacanei etiam operis aucupium atque venatio. 57. Quid de pratorum viriditate aut arborum ordinibus aut vinearum olivetorumve specie [plura] dicam? Brevi praecidam: agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius, ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque allectat senectus. Ubi enim potest illa aetas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni, aut vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salubrius? 58. Sibi igitur habeant arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clavam et pilam, sibi natationes atque cursus: nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et

and the 'penus' had its meaning fixed by the lawyers (Dig. 33, tit. 9, De Penu legata). It comprehends all that is for eating and drinking, and something more; which is perhaps the widest sense of 'penus:' but Cicero seems to limit the meaning, for he speaks of 'cella vinaria, olearia, et penaria.'

*Succidiam*] "Succidia ab suibus caedendis; nam id primum pecus occidere coeperunt domini et ut servarent sallere." (Varro, L. L. 110.) Hence 'succidia' would mean a piece of salted pig. (Varro, De R. R. ii. 4.) Some salt pig for summer use (succidia) was the first necessary; and the garden was the next thing, the second flitch of bacon. But the word does not contain the element 'su,' of 'sus.' It is from 'sub' and 'caedo,' something in reserve to cut at. There is a note on this word in the edition of Aulus Gellius (xiii. c. 24) *by the two* Gronovii. See also *Gellius iv. 6.*

*Supervacanei*] This appears to be a better reading than 'supervacaneis,' in which case 'operis' would be the ablative of 'opera.' Cato means to say that 'fowling and hunting,' which are amusements, matters of leisure labour, if one might use the expression, give a greater relish to what he has mentioned.

*Clavam—pilam,*] After enumerating other athletic exercises, he mentions the 'ball,' 'pila,' and the 'clava,' or bat with which it was struck, as Manutius would explain it, if the reading 'sibi clavam et pilam,' is adopted, instead of 'sibi clavam, sibi pilam.' But two distinct exercises seem to be intended; and the 'clava' may mean the military exercise of fighting with a wooden sword against a post (palus) fixed in the ground, which Vegetius describes (*De Re Militari*, i. 11).

*Talos—tesseras;*] The 'tali' was a game of chance or dice. Augustus, in a letter of his, cited by Suetonius (Aug. 71), speaks of it as

tesseras; id ipsum ut lubebit, quoniam sine his beata esse senectus potest.

XVII. 59. Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt, quos legite, quaeso, studiose, ut facitis. Quam copiose ab eo agricultura laudatur in eo libro qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui Oeconomicus inscribitur! Atque ut intelligatis nihil ei tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo, Cyrum minorem, regem Persarum, praestantem ingenio atque imperii gloria, quum Lysander Lacedaemonius vir summae virtutis venisset ad eum Sardis eique dona a sociis attulisset, et ceteris in rebus communem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse, et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse. Quum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum et directos in quincun-

an old man's game, with which he amused himself sometimes: "inter coenam lusimus γεροντικῶς—talis jactatis," &c. As to the difference between 'tali' and 'tesserae' see Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, Talus, Tessera.

*Id ipsum ut*] The common reading is 'id ipsum utrum,' which it is very difficult to understand. A. has 'id ipsum ut,' which is the reading of several MSS., and probably the right reading, unless we write 'id ipsum tamen ut,' with some MSS.

17. *Oeconomicus*] This is one of the most pleasant of Xenophon's works. Cicero translated it into Latin when he was a young man, or made some adaptation of it for the use of the Romans (Orelli's Cicero). The story of Cyrus and Lysander is told in the fourth chapter of the Oeconomicus; and it is worth while to compare the free exposition of Cicero with the original. *Africanus was a great reader of Xenophon (Cicero, Tusc.* ii. 26).

*Regem*] Cyrus the younger, the brother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia. Cyrus was not a king, but he held a government under his brother (Xenophon, Anab. i. 1).

*Venisset ad eum Sardis*] "Had come to him to Sardis," or, as we say, 'at Sardis;' but in such cases the Latin writers properly refer the motion both to the person and to the place.

*Communem*] There is a reading 'comem.' But 'communem' is probably the true reading. It signifies a superior's putting himself on a level with his inferiors. Xenophon's expression is φιλοφρονεῖσθαι. The Greek κοινός is used in this sense of 'communis.' Comp. Cic. Pro Murena, c. 31; Ad Div. iv. 9.

*In quincuncem*] Manutius has an elaborate note on the 'quincunx,' as applied to the mode of planting the vine. The word 'quincunx' signifies "five unciae,"

cem ordines et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem odorum qui afflarentur e floribus, tum eum dixisse, mirari se non modo diligentiam sed etiam sollertiam ejus a quo essent illa dimensa atque discripta; et ei Cyrum respondisse: Atqui ego omnia ista sum dimensus; mei sunt ordines, mea discriptio; multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae. Tum Lysandrum intuentem purpuram ejus et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis dixisse; Rite vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna conjuncta est. 60. Hac igitur fortuna frui licet senibus; nec aetas impedit quo minus et ceterarum rerum et in primis agri

of which the numerical representative was V; and when vines were arranged "in quincuncem," if any two vines in the first line were looked at, there would be a vine in the next row occupying, with respect to these two, the same position that the bottom of the V occupies with respect to the two extremities of the letter: thus, VVV. See Varro, De R. R. i. 7.

*Dimensa atque discripta;*] Orelli and the editors have 'dimensa et descripta.' If they write 'descripta,' why don't they write 'demensa?' See note on c. 2. The form 'discrib' is now safely established. It occurs in the inscription of Venafrum: "aquam distribuere discribere vendundi causa." (Zeitschrift für Geschicht. Rechtsw. vol. xv.)

*Auro multisque gemmis*] Compare the description of the dress of the Persians of rank in the Anabasis of Xenophon, i. 5.

*Rite*] It is doubtful if 'Recte' is the true reading here or 'Rite.' Both are Latin. Otto has examples of 'rite' in this sense: "is prudentissimus . . . rite haberi solet" (Cic. De Off. i. 5), and other examples.

*Impedit quo minus*] We might use 'ne' after 'impedio' in this case, and also 'quin.' 'Quin' is only used when there is a negative with the principal verb, to express the non-existence of the hindrance (Key's Grammar, 1183). In all these expressions there is a form of the relative in the dependent clause; for 'ne' is equivalent to 'ut non.' It is the hypothetical case, expressed in the dependent clause, of which the predication is made. It might be urged that 'aetas' is the subject of which is said 'non impedit;' but there would be no real predication if the sentence ended here; for "age is no impediment," is no complete proposition. "Age is not painful," is a complete proposition. We must then add something to "age is no impediment," as, for instance, "age is no impediment to a man's pursuing agricultural occupations," which is the meaning of the sentence in Cicero; and it only remains to analyse it. The sentence is equivalent to "a man is not prevented by age from following agricultural pursuits," which in Latin

colendi studia teneamus usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. M. quidem Valerium Corvum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse, quum esset acta jam aetate in agris eosque coleret; cujus inter primum et sextum consulatum sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Ita quantum spatium aetatis majores nostri ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit; atque ejus extrema aetas hoc beatior quam media, quod auctoritatis

would be "non impedimur senectute ne *or* quo minus . . . agri colendi studia teneamus." In either form the subjunctive is used; and the subject is not 'age,' nor 'we,' the nominative to 'impedimur;' but it is "the pursuing of agricultural pursuits" which is the matter of the discourse, and of which a judgment or predication is to be made. It would be easy to quote many sentences, in which nobody would doubt about this exposition. In "non dubito quin mirere," it is not the 'not doubt' of which the 'wondering' is predicated; but it is the 'wondering' of which 'not doubt' is predicated. If we wished to predicate 'wonder' of 'not doubting' we must say, "te non dubitare miror." So if we wish to predicate the persistence in the pursuits of agriculture, without 'let' or 'hindrance' from age, we must first say, "agri colendi studio tenemur;" we must resort to the direct proposition, which contains the subject 'we' and its predication. To express the 'let' or 'hindrance,' the predicate must be qualified by such words as "sine impedimento aetatis." Or we must accomplish the same purpose by another proposition, "nec nobis impedimento est senectus," and thus we have two distinct propositions, which, if *they follow one* another, produce in the mind a conception which, in whatever form it is expressed, must involve two propositions. The practical conclusion is this, that in such dependent sentences as we have been considering, the matter of the dependent sentence is the subject of the discourse; and though it involves words of predication, it does not contain a direct affirmation or negation.

*M. Valerium Corvum*] Plutarch, in his life of Marius (c. 28), tells the same story of the age of this veteran, but he makes forty-five years elapse between his two consulships. According to the Fasti Capitolini, the first consulship was in B.C. 348, and the second in B.C. 299, an interval of forty-nine years. Some of the MSS. have 'vitam produxisse' or 'vitam perduxisse.' 'Acta jam aetate' means advanced in years.

*Quantum spatium*] This seems to be explained by a passage of Censorinus (De Die Natali, c. 14). —"in tertio gradu qui erant usque quinque et quadraginta annos, juvenes appellatos eo quod rem publicam in re militari possent juvare: in quarto autem adusque sexagesimum annum seniores esse vocitatos quod tunc primum senescere corpus incipiat." (Ed. Jahn.) Old age then, according to this, properly began at sixty.

plus habebat, laboris minus. Apex est autem senectutis auctoritas. 61. Quanta fuit in L. Caecilio Metello! quanta in Atilio Calatino in quem illud elogium unicum: plurimae consentiunt gentes populi primarium fuisse virum. Notum est carmen incisum in sepulcro. Jure igitur gravis cujus de laudibus omnium esset fama con-

*Atilio Calatino*] A. Atilius Calatinus is supposed to be meant, who commanded the Roman armies in Sicily in the first Punic War. He was consul for the first time in B.C. 258 (Polyb. i. 24). The inscription on his tomb is again quoted by Cicero (Fin. ii. 35), where it stands "unum hunc plurimae consentiunt gentes populi primarium fuisse virum." The inscription was near the Porta Capena (Tusc. i. 7), where the tombs of the Scipiones were, and others. 'Unicum' is the reading of all the MSS. in this passage, and if it is genuine, it means that such an inscription was singular, unusual, or that there was no other like it. Cicero may not have cared about giving the very words of the inscription. Those who are curious on this matter may compare the inscription on the tomb of L. Scipio Barbatus. But 'unicum' may be a corrupted form of 'unum hunc,' or 'hunc unum.'

*Carmen*] This word is not limited to poetry. It also signifies a formula, or set form of words (Liv. i. 26), a title or inscription, as in this passage. In a passage in Lucretius (iv. 376) it signifies a toothed instrument for carding wool, "quasi carmine lana trahatur." The word appears to contain the root 'carp;' and it is used by Virgil in the sense of spinning wool. (Georg. iv. 234.) The primary sense of 'car-men' then, must be derived from the primary sense of 'carp-o.'

*Jure igitur,* &c.] This usage of the subjunctive after 'qui' is one of the niceties of the language. The sentence may be rendered,—"with good reason then was he esteemed, if the voice of all mankind was unanimous in his praise." There is no doubt that the clause 'cujus' contains an implied affirmation, but the Latin idiom has the power of expressing this indirectly, and we can hardly do it, except by another form of expression. 'Is' might be used in this sentence as it is in the first sentence of the following chapter; "eam . . . senectutem quae . . . constituta sit." Cicero might have expressed himself in this form, "cujus de . . . erat consentiens, is jure gravis." But then we should have two distinct propositions. As it stands in the text the sentence is a simple proposition: 'jure gravis (erat),' and the subject of the sentence is what follows. For it should be observed, that a proposition itself, and such is involved in 'cujus . . . esset,' &c., may be the subject of another proposition. Such expressions as the following occur in Cicero (Ad Q. Fr. 4): "sint aures tuae quae id quod audiunt existimentur audire." There are many sentences in which, if the MSS. readings are right, it would seem almost a matter of indifference or of chance, which of the two forms

sentiens. Quem virum nuper P. Crassum pontificem Maximum, quem postea M. Lepidum eodem sacerdotio praeditum vidimus! Quid de Paullo aut Africano loquar, aut ut jam ante de Maximo? quorum non in sententia solum, sed etiam in nutu residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus, honorata praesertim, tantam auctoritatem ut ea pluris sit quam omnes adolescentiae voluptates.

XVIII. 62. Sed in omni oratione mementote eam me senectutem laudare quae fundamentis adolescentiae constituta sit. Ex quo efficitur id quod ego magno quondam cum assensu omnium dixi, Miseram esse senectutem quae se oratione defenderet. Non cani, non rugae repente auctoritatem arripere possunt; sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos. 63. Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia quae videntur levia atque communia, salutari, appeti, decedi, assurgi, deduci, reduci, consuli; quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque optime morata, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cujus modo mentionem feci, dicere aiunt soli-

a Roman writer would prefer; whether he would make a positive assertion in the relative clause by the indicative, or put it in an indirect form by the subjunctive.

*Nuper*] Crassus has been mentioned before, c. 14. Cicero might say 'nuper' properly enough; for 'nuper' is not limited to a very short time.

18. *Miseram—quae*] The form 'defenderet' is used in such expressions, when a speaker's words are cited, it matters not whether by himself or another. But even if the proposition were stated in the direct form, it might be "misera est senectus quae se oratione defendat." The word 'oratione' has been suspected to be an error for '*canitie;' but the suspicion has hardly a foundation.* The text means, Wretched is old age if it needs words in its defence: a man's past life and his acts should be his stay in old age.

*Salutari*, &c.] Each of these words requires explanation, which the teacher must give, and the more advanced student may derive from examples in Forcellini's Lexicon. The construction of the several words is different: 'salutatur aliquis:' but 'alicui deceditur, assurgitur;' that is, we make way for a man, we rise up as he appears. 'Deduco' is the word used to signify accompanying a man when he goes any where, to do him honour. From 'consuli' is formed the word 'consultus,' a man whose advice is sought; and if on legal questions, he is 'juris consultus.'

tum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis: nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, quum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, in magno consessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus; quum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui legati quum essent certo in loco consederant, consurrexisse omnes et senem [illum] sessum recepisse. 64. Quibus quum a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex iis quendam, Athenienses scire quae recta essent, sed facere nolle. Multa in nostro collegio praeclara, sed hoc de quo agimus in primis, quod, ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet; neque solum honore antecedentibus sed iis etiam qui cum imperio sunt

*Nusquam—tribuitur*] This is the remark of Cicero; if the form were the infinitive, they would be the words of Lysander.

*Quin etiam*] These two words are often written as one word, and translated 'moreover;' but this does not explain the matter. 'Quin' is a form of the relative, with 'ne' at the end of it. We have it at the beginning of a sentence in such expressions as the following, 'Quin conscendimus equos?' (Liv. i. 57,) where it is an interrogative. Such appears to be the original force of 'quin' at the beginning of a sentence, and it may be compared with 'quid quod,' 'quid enim,' and such like expressions. So the full force of 'quin' in this passage would be: "Nay, is it not even told?" But it by no means follows, if this is the true explanation, that the primary sense of the expression was retained in Cicero's time. Such words as these get by use peculiar senses. But 'quin' in this position retains enough of its presumed original meaning to show what that was. It strengthens and confirms what has been said.

*In magno*] 'In' is omitted in some MSS. It is Latin either way; but the meaning is not quite the same.

*Collegio*] Cato means the college of augurs. 'Collegium' is a collective term, and it comprises those who are 'collegae.' It is the abstract term for an association, and one of the terms which signify an artificial person, of which terms 'universitas' is the most extensive. Some of these 'collegia' were corporations (more properly called artificial persons), in a legal sense.

*Honore*] This is a technical term. The 'honores' of the Roman state were the high offices of the Roman state, as the praetorship, consulship. Those who had enjoyed these offices might be said 'honore antecedere.' "Qui cum imperio sunt" are those who are now in the possession of the praetorian or consular honour, who

majores natu augures anteponuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptates corporis cum auctoritatis praemiis comparandae? quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ii mihi videntur fabulam aetatis peregisse, nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu corruisse. 65. At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes. Si quaerimus, etiam avari: sed haec morum vitia sunt non senectutis. Ac morositas tamen et ea vitia quae dixi habent aliquid excusationis, non illius quidem justae sed quae probari posse videatur: contemni se putant, despici, illudi: praeterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est. Quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus; idque quum in vita tum in scena intelligi potest ex iis fratribus qui in Adelphis sunt. Quanta in altero duritas, in altero comitas! Sic se res habet; ut enim non omne vinum, sic non omnis aetas vetustate coacescit. Severitatem in senectute probo, sed eam sicut alia modicam; acerbitatem nullo modo. Avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit non intelligo. Potest enim quidquam esse

were said to have 'imperium.' Cicero says (Verr. Act. i. c. 31): "Erat tum consul Hortensius cum summo imperio et potestate." There was an 'imperium,' if we follow the definition of later writers, that had no connexion with 'jurisdictio;' and there was an 'imperium,' by virtue of which a magistratus had 'jurisdictio.' (Dig. 2, tit. i. s. 3; Gaius iv. 103, &c.) The magistratus were divided into 'majores,' who had the 'imperium' (jurisdictio), and the 'minores,' who had not.

*Non illius quidem justae*] "Not indeed a complete excuse." Compare the use and position of the emphatic word 'ille,' in De Am. 18, 19. He adds, 'sed quae . . videatur,' *which means, 'yet such an excuse as it seems* one may offer as sufficient.' Cicero (De Invent. i. c. 29) explains the word 'probabile.' If any man has not yet discovered the difficulty of translating some Latin sentences, even where the meaning is clear, let him try his hand at this.

*Adelphis*] In the play of Terence called the Adelphi.

*Duritas,*] Nonius has 'diritas,' which reading Otto has in his text, and A.—'omnis aetas:' 'omnis naturae aetas,' many of the MSS., where 'omnis naturae aetas' means 'the age of every nature or character.' But it seems that we may infer that from the various readings 'omnis aetas' and 'omnis natura,' arose the strange compound 'omnis aetas naturae.'

*Potest enim quidquam*] It may be said, however, that the old man

absurdius quam quo minus viae restat eo plus viatici quaerere?

XIX. 66. Quarta restat causa quae maxime angere atque sollicitam habere nostram aetatem videtur, appropinquatio mortis, quae certe a senectute non potest longe abesse. O miserum senem qui mortem contemnendam esse in tam longa aetate non viderit! quae aut plane negligenda est, si omnino exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, si aliquo eum deducit ubi sit futurus aeternus. Atqui tertium certe nihil inveniri potest. 67. Quid igitur timeam, si aut non miser post mortem aut beatus etiam futurus sum? Quamquam quis est tam stultus, quamvis sit adolescens, cui sit exploratum se ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam aetas illa multo plures quam nostra mortis casus habet: facilius in morbos incidunt adolescentes; gravius aegrotant; tristius curantur. Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem. Quod ni ita accideret, melius et prudentius viveretur; mens enim et ratio et consilium in senibus est, qui si nulli fuissent, nullae omnino civitates essent. Sed redeo ad mortem impendentem. Quod illud est crimen senectutis, quum illud videatis cum adolescentia esse commune? 68. Sensi ego quum in optimo filio meo, tum in exspectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem fratribus tuis, Scipio, mortem omni aetati esse communem. At sperat adolescens diu se victurum, quod

who is fond of money, saves for his children or for others whom he wishes to enrich. But this is another topic, which would require a chapter. Here the man is represented as saving without any purpose, from pure greediness.

19. *Quid—timeam, si—sum?*] 'Sum' is the true reading, and not 'sim.' In the De Am. 3, we have, "*si . . . me moveri negem, certe mentiar,*" which means, "if I were *to deny, I should* certainly lie." But the passage in the text means, "what should I fear, if I am to be either, &c. or, &c."

*Quod ni,* &c.] 'If this did not happen so, men would live better and wiser, for understanding and reason and judgment belong to old men,' &c.—'civitates essent:' the reading of a few MSS. Most of them have 'fuissent.'

*Quum illud videatis*] Some MSS. have 'id,' which may be the true reading.

sperare idem senex non potest. Insipienter sperat. Quid enim stultius quam incerta pro certis habere, falsa pro veris? Senex ne quod speret quidem habet. At est eo meliore conditione quam adolescens, quoniam id, quod ille sperat, hic [jam] consecutus est. Ille vult diu vivere; hic diu vixit. 69. Quamquam, o Dii boni! quid est in hominis vita diu! Da enim supremum tempus: exspectemus Tartessiorum regis aetatem. Fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus qui octoginta regnavit annos, centum et viginti vixit. Sed mihi ne diuturnum quidem quidquam videtur in quo est aliquid extremum: quum enim id advenit, tunc illud quod praeteriit effluxit: tantum remanet quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis. Horae quidem cedunt et dies et menses et anni, nec praeteritum tempus unquam revertitur, nec quid sequatur sciri potest. Quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse contentus. 70. Neque enim histrioni ut placeat peragenda fabula est; modo in quocunque fuerit actu probetur; nec sapienti usque ad Plaudite veniendum est. Breve enim tempus aetatis satis est longum ad bene honesteque vivendum. Sin processeris longius, non magis dolendum est quam agricolae dolent, praeterita verni temporis suavitate, aestatem autumnumque venisse. Ver enim tamquam adolescentiam significat ostenditque fructus futuros: reliqua tempora

*Quoniam id,*] The common texts have 'quum id consecutus est,' but then it ought to be 'consecutus sit.' The abbreviation qm̃ is used in the MSS. for 'quoniam,' but the editors have often changed it to 'quum.' See Otto's note.

*Arganthonius*] This long-lived king who lived at Cadiz, is mentioned by Herodotus (i. 163, &c.), and other ancient writers; but we need not wonder that they do not all agree as to the years that he attained.

*Veniendum*] Perhaps preferable to the reading 'vivendum,' if we judge from the context. 'Plaudite' was the usual expression with which a dramatic representation was closed, as in the last line of the Andria of Terence:

> "Intus transigetur si quid est quod restet. Plaudite."

demetendis fructibus et percipiendis accommodata sunt. 71. Fructus autem senectutis est, ut saepe dixi, ante partorum bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia vero, quae secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis. Quid est autem tam secundum naturam quam senibus emori? quod idem contingit adolescentibus adversante et repugnante natura. Itaque adolescentes mori sic mihi videntur, ut quum aquae multitudine vis flammae opprimitur: senes autem sicut sua sponte nulla adhibita vi consumptus ignis exstinguitur: et quasi poma ex arboribus, si cruda sunt, vi avelluntur; si matura et cocta, decidunt: sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas; quae quidem mihi tam jucunda est ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus.

XX. 72. Omnium aetatum certus est terminus: senectutis autem nullus certus est terminus, recteque in ea vivitur, quoad munus officii exsequi et tueri possis et tamen

*Omnia vero,*] Every thing that happens is in one sense 'secundum naturam,' or it would not happen. The argument in the text is not good. It is 'secundum naturam' for men to die, both old and young. A countless number of things never reach their maturity: seeds, young plants, and millions of animals perish immature. It is as much 'secundum naturam' for a man to die young as old; and more persons die young than old. It is 'secundum naturam' that a few live to be old: but it is also 'secundum naturam' that most do not. The true conclusion, then, as to old age, for that is the matter in question, is this: it is 'secundum naturam' for the old to die; and that event which might have happened 'secundum naturam' in youth, will certainly happen in old age. The difference is what Cicero says: the young are carried off by 'vis' of some sort; the old drop when they are ripe. Yet few die of old age only.

*Senes autem sicut*] Sophocles (Oed. Tyr. v. 961) expresses in another form the gentle transition of the old man from life to death:

σμικρὰ παλαιὰ σώματ' εὐνάζει ῥοπή.

There is a reading 'sicut quum sua,' &c.

*Si cruda sunt,*] There is a reading 'cruda si sint,' but the subjunctive is wrong. In place of 'vi avelluntur' Orelli has 'vix,' which I now reject, and take 'vi' as A. has. Otto places it thus [vi]; and it is at least doubtful, if it should stand.

20. Quoad] 'Quoad' must be

mortem contemnere. Ex quo fit ut animosior etiam senectus sit quam adolescentia et fortior. Hoc illud est quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum est, quum illi quaerenti, qua tandem spe fretus sibi tam audaciter obsisteret, respondisse dicitur Senectute. Sed vivendi est finis optimus, quum integra mente ceterisque sensibus opus ipsa suum eadem quae coagmentavit natura dissolvit. Ut navem, ut aedificium idem destruit facillime qui construxit, sic hominem eadem optime quae conglutinavit natura dissolvit. Jam omnis conglutinatio recens aegre, inveterata facile divellitur. Ita fit ut illud breve vitae reliquum nec avide appetendum senibus nec sine causa deserendum sit: vetatque Pythagoras injussu imperatoris, id est, Dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere. 73.

compared with 'adeo.' In both cases the preposition is joined to the pronominal adverbs 'quo,' 'eo.' 'Quoad' here means 'so long as.' It is true as a physical fact that there is no fixed limit to the period of old age; or perhaps it would be more correct to say, that there is no fixed limit to the duration of life after the time of full maturity has been attained. The preceding periods, infancy and youth, have their limit.

*Tueri possis*] Or, as the best MSS. are said to have it, 'tueri possit,' that is 'senex.'

*Et tamen mortem—Ex quo*, &c.] Cicero says, "that an old man does well to go on living, so long as he can discharge the duty of his station and maintain it, and still not fear death. And this it is that makes old age even more courageous than youth, and more resolved." 'Ex quo,' &c. does not seem to mean, as Otto takes it, that *contempt of death is* more *common in old age than* in other periods, which is notoriously false in our times at least; but it means that if there is this contempt of death, old age is more courageous than youth. For old age has had all that which youth wishes to have: there is little left for it; and this is a reason why it should not care much for the little that remains of life.

*Sine causa*] This seems to imply that there may be a sufficient 'causa' for departing from life; but Pythagoras gives the rule positively, that a man must not.

*Injussu imperatoris,*] This opinion, attributed to Pythagoras, is put in the mouth of Socrates in the Phaedon of Plato (c. 6); and Cicero has imitated the Greek form of expression in comparing a man to a soldier on duty at his post. The Stoics allowed suicide in some cases, but with certain restrictions. (Seneca, Epp. 24, 58.) Compare Cicero, Tusc. i. 30, and M. Antoninus xii. 36.

Solonis quidem sapientis elogium est, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare. Vult, credo, se esse carum suis; sed haud scio an melius Ennius:

> Nemo me lacrumis decoret neque funera fletu
> Faxit.

74. Non censet lugendam esse mortem quam immortalitas consequatur. Jam sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest, isque ad exiguum tempus praesertim seni: post mortem quidem sensus aut optandus aut nullus est. Sed hoc meditatum ab adolescentia debet esse mortem ut negligamus, sine qua meditatione tranquillo esse animo nemo potest. Moriendum enim certe est, et id incertum an eo ipso die. Mortem igitur omnibus horis impendentem timens qui poterit animo consistere? 75. De qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse videtur, quum recorder, non L. Brutum qui in liberanda patria est interfectus, non duo Decios qui ad voluntariam mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt, non M. Atilium qui ad supplicium est profectus ut fidem hosti

*Solonis*] The verses of Solon are preserved by Plutarch in his comparison of Solon and Publicola.

> Μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισιν
> Καλλείποιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς.

They are thus translated in the Tusculanae Disputationes, i. 49—

> "Mors mea ne careat lacrumis: linquamus amicis
> Maerorem ut celebrent funera cum gemitu."

*Faxit.*] The form 'faxo,' which occurs, is evidently a future 'facso,' like the Greek λεκ-σω. Faxim (fac-sim) is a form of the subjunctive, which has the same sense as 'fecerim,' another and a more usual form. The second verse is given complete in the Tusculanae Disputationes (i. 15):

> "Faxit. Cur? volito vivu' per ora virum."

*Eo ipso*] 'Hoc ipso,' as some MSS. have it.

*Non ita longa*] An elliptical expression, probably. However this may be, it means "no very long discussion." Compare Ad Q. Fr. c. 11: "non ita acerbum videri debet." De Am. c. 10: "ita multa."

*M. Atilium*] M. Atilius Regulus, who was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, and sent to Rome to offer the Romans peace, on condition of returning to his

datam conservaret, non duo Scipiones qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt, non avum tuum L. Paullum qui morte luit collegae in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem, non M. Marcellum cujus interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturae carere passus est, sed legiones nostras, quod scripsi in Originibus, in eum saepe locum profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde se nunquam redituras arbitrarentur. Quod igitur adolescentes et ii quidem non solum indocti sed etiam rustici contemnunt, id docti senes extimescent? 76. Omnino, ut mihi quidem videtur, studiorum omnium satietas vitae facit satietatem. Sunt pueritiae certa studia: num igitur ea desiderant adolescentes? Sunt ineuntis adolescentiae: num ea constans jam requirit aetas quae media dicitur? Sunt etiam hujus aetatis: ne ea quidem quaeruntur in senectute. Sunt extrema quaedam studia senectutis: ergo ut superiorum aetatum studia occidunt, sic occidunt etiam senectutis. Quod quum evenit, satietas vitae tempus maturum mortis affert.

XXI. 77. Equidem non video cur quid ipse sentiam de morte non audeam vobis dicere, quod eo melius mihi cernere videor quo ab ea propius absum. Ego vestros patres, P. Scipio, tuque C. Laeli, viros clarissimos mihique amicissimos vivere arbitror, et eam quidem vitam quae est sola vita nominanda. Nam dum sumus in his inclusi compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi

enemies if he did not succeed (Horace, Carm. iii. 5, 13).

M. Marcellus, consul, fell into an ambuscade near Tarentum in the second Punic War. The enemy, Hannibal, buried the dead body (Liv. xxvii. 28).

*Originibus,*] This is a citation from the Origines of Cato. The same is said in the Tusculanae Disputationes *(i. 42): "Quum legiones scribat Cato saepe alacres* in eum locum profectas unde redituras se non arbitrarentur." Compare Gellius iii. 7.

*Studiorum omnium*] Or 'rerum omnium,' as some MSS. have it.—'In senectute:' 'a senectute,' Orelli.

21. *Patres,*] The father of Laelius was C. Laelius, who was consul with L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus B.C. 190.

opere perfungimur. Est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitatique contrarium. Sed credo Deos immortales sparsisse animos in corpora humana ut essent qui terras tuerentur, quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantia. Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio impulit ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum et auctoritas. 78. Audiebam Pythagoram Pythagoreosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam

*Essent qui terras tuerentur,*] 'Qui terras tuerentur' is the subject or nominative of 'essent;' and the subjunctive form would be used, even if the words 'qui tuerentur' were not part of the dependent clause, 'ut essent.'

The philosophers of antiquity sought for an end or purpose in human existence, and in the powers given to man. The whole purpose of human existence is unknown, and the human mind would not be capable of comprehending it. But what is here suggested is worthy of consideration. All things are not made for man, but man's understanding was given him (among other purposes) that he might contemplate the order of the universe, and make his life conformable to this great example. Such considerations were not peculiar to any sect, but were the opinions of all those whose thoughts were elevated above the common matters of daily life. The excellent emperor, Marcus Antoninus, tells us, "to look at the courses of the stars, as if we were carried round with them, and constantly to observe the changes of the elemental particles with respect to one another; for such contemplations purge away the filth of this terrene life" (Med. vii. 47). Anaxagoras, according to Laertius (Anaxag. Vit.), in answer to the question for what end he was born, said, "to contemplate the sun, the moon, and the heavens." Compare Plato, Timaeus, p. 47 c, ed. Steph.; Cicero, De Nat. Deor. ii. 14, 56. Antoninus (xi. 27) says, that the Pythagoreans in the morning bid us look up to heaven that we may be reminded of those bodies which always do the same things and their work in the same manner.

We raise our eyes to the heavens and look out into the infinite: but our feet are fixed to the earth on which we must labour and live. Man is called by his nature both to contemplation and to activity.

*Qui essent*] This depends on 'audiebam,' and 'is qui esset' in the next sentence is governed by the same principle. After the clause "quae Socrates disseruisset," the nature of which has been explained, 'is qui' and their verb must follow the same law.

*Italici philosophi*] Pythagoras established his school at Croton, in South Italy, whence his followers received the name of Italici.

nominati, nunquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus. Demonstrabantur mihi praeterea quae Socrates supremo vitae die de immortalitate animorum disseruisset, is qui esset omnium sapientissimus oraculo Apollinis judicatus. Quid multa? Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, quum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantae scientiae, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam quae res eas contineat esse mortalem: quumque semper agitetur animus nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia nunquam se ipse sit relicturus; et quum simplex animi natura esset, neque haberet in se quidquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi; quod si non possit, non posse interire: magnoque esse argumento homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint, quod jam pueri, quum artes difficiles discant, ita celeriter res innumerabiles arripiant ut eas non tum primum accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari. Haec Platonis fere.

XXII. 79. Apud Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus

His doctrines are obscurely known, but from such passages as these we collect that they were purely spiritual, and must have been opposed to the material notions which make up the existence of nations generally. The doctrine that the human 'animus' was a portion of the universal intelligence, of God, was generally received in antiquity. According to the Pythagoreans, the soul (ψυχή) was a portion of aether, and immortal, for that from which it was taken was immortal (Diogenes, Laert. viii.).

*Socrates supremo vitae die*] Cicero alludes to the Dialogue of Plato, called the Phaedon, in which Socrates shortly before his death discourses on the immortality of the soul.

The argument, which follows, is a kind of exposition of a passage in the Phaedon of Plato, and it is expounded at greater length in the Somnium Scipionis, and in the Tusculanae Quaestiones (i. 23. 27).

*Esset, neque haberet*] The critics have given various reasons for these tenses. I can give none.

22. *Apud Xenophontem*] The passage is in the last book of the Cyropaedia (viii. 7), and it will be a useful exercise for a student to make his own Latin version of the Greek, and to compare it with

major haec dicit: "Nolite arbitrari, o mihi carissimi filii, me quum a vobis discessero nusquam aut nullum fore. Nec enim dum eram vobiscum animum meum videbatis, sed eum esse in hoc corpore ex iis rebus quas gerebam intelligebatis. Eundem igitur esse creditote, etiam si nullum videbitis. 80. Nec vero clarorum virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si nihil eorum ipsorum animi efficerent quo diutius memoriam sui teneremus. Mihi quidem nunquam persuaderi potuit animos dum in corporibus essent mortalibus vivere, quum exissent ex iis emori: nec vero tum animum esse insipientem quum ex insipienti corpore evasisset; sed quum omni admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer esse coepisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam quum hominis natura morte dissolvitur, ceterarum rerum perspicuum est quo quaeque discedat; abeunt enim illuc omnia unde orta sunt; animus autem solus nec quum adest nec quum discedit apparet. Jam vero videtis nihil esse morti tam simile quam somnum. 81. Atqui dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam; multa enim quum remissi et liberi sunt futura prospiciunt. Ex quo intelligitur quales futuri sint, quum se plane corporis vinculis relaxaverint. Quare, si haec ita sunt, sic me colitote ut Deum. Sin una est interiturus

Cicero's version, in which he has omitted some parts. The passage begins, Οὐ γὰρ δήπου τοῦτό γε σαφῶς δοκεῖτε εἰδέναι. The argument of Xenophon for the independent existence of the 'animus,' for its existence independent of the sensuous form through and by which it acts, may be compared with Butler's argument, "Of a Future Life," in his Analogy. See also M. Antoninus xii. 28.

*Nullum videbitis,*] That is, "*though you* will not see me at *all.*" *Neither* 'eundem' nor '*nullum*' *refers to* 'animum,' as a consideration of the sense of the passage will show.

*Dum in corporibus essent*] This use of 'dum' with the subjunctive furnishes a good example of its contrast with 'dum' and the indicative, 'dum eram.'

*Ceterarum rerum—quo quaeque*] See c. 2, note.

*Sic me colitote ut Deum.*] The critics complain of Cicero's rendering of the original τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταιδούμενοι. But his object was not to render literally; nor yet is he far from the mark.

animus cum corpore, vos tamen Deos verentes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis."

XXIII. 82. Cyrus quidem haec moriens. Nos, si placet, nostra videamus. Nemo unquam mihi, Scipio, persuadebit aut patrem tuum Paullum, aut duos avos Paullum et Africanum, aut Africani patrem, aut patruum, aut multos praestantes viros quos enumerare non est necesse, tanta esse conatos quae ad posteritatis memoriam pertinerent, nisi animo cernerent posteritatem ad se pertinere. An censes, ut de me ipso aliquid more senum glorier, me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiaeque susceptarum fuisse, si iisdem finibus gloriam meam quibus vitam essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam aetatem et quietam sine ullo labore et contentione traducere? Sed nescio quomodo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat quasi quum excessisset e vita tum denique victurus esset. Quod quidem ni ita se haberet ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cujusque animus maxime ad immortalitatem gloriae niteretur. 83. Quid, quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo? Nonne vobis videtur animus is qui plus cernat et longius videre se ad meliora proficisci; ille autem cujus obtusior sit acies non videre?

23. *Africani patrem*, &c.] The father of Africanus Major was P. Scipio, who was killed in Spain B.C. 211. The uncle was Cn. Scipio, who was also killed in Spain at the same time (Livy xxv. 34, &c.). These two Scipios are alluded to in c. 20.

*Tanta esse conatos—nisi—cernerent*] Perhaps we should have expected 'conaturos fuisse.' If the reading is right, the use of 'nisi cernerent' is peculiar. Compare *Cicero, Verr. ii. 1, c. 32:* "ut perspicuum sit . . . moverentur."

*Is qui plus cernat*] There is a reading 'cernit,' but 'cernat' appears to be the true reading. "Think you not that a mind, if it is one that penetrates more and further, must see that it is going to better things; and, on the other hand, if it is one whose sight is somewhat dulled, that it will not have such a prospect?"

*Ille*] 'Hic' and 'ille' as demonstratives are the two words that generally come in contrast; but

Equidem efferor studio patres vestros quos colui et dilexi videndi; neque vero eos solum convenire aveo quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam de quibus audivi et legi et ipse conscripsi. Quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quis facile retraxerit, neque tamquam Peliam recoxerit. Quod si quis Deus mihi largiatur ut ex hac aetate repuerascam et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem; nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari. 84. Quid enim habet vita commodi? quid non potius laboris? Sed habeat sane: habet certe tamen aut satietatem aut modum. Non lubet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi et ii docti saepe fecerunt: neque me vixisse poenitet, quoniam ita vixi ut non frustra me natum existimem; et ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam ex domo. Commorandi enim natura deversorium nobis, non habitandi dedit. 85. O praeclarum diem quum ad illud divinum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar, quumque ex hac turba et colluvione discedam! Proficiscar enim non ad eos solum viros de quibus ante dixi, verum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo

there are many examples in Cicero of sentences in which 'is,' as 'one,' is contrasted with 'ille' as 'the other.' Comp. De Or. ii. 72: "eos locos quibus—et illos quibus;" and Pro Cn. Plancio, c. 3. Terence, Heauton. i. 2, 21: "Qui uti scit, ei bona; illi, qui non utitur recte, mala." 'Ille' has hardly its strict demonstrative use in these passages, except perhaps in the passage from the Pro Plancio.

*Si quis—largiatur*] In this conditional sentence, the present form of the condition is responded to by the present form of the corresponding member. The *English idiom* uses this form: "if *a deity were to* make me the offer, *I would reject it.*" Comp. Terence, Phormio, ii. 1, 19—

"Quod si tibi res sit cum eo lenone, quocum mi est, tum sentias."

*Ad carceres a calce*] The 'carcer,' or 'place of inclosure,' is the place from which the horses or chariots started in a race:

"Ruuntque effusi carcere currus." (Virg. Aeneid. v. 145.)

The 'meta,' or limit of the course in the circus was marked with chalk or lime (creta, calx), that it might be more conspicuous. (Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxv. 17, and Harduin's note.) Seneca says (Ep. 108), "Hanc quam nunc in circo cretam vocamus."

pietate praestantior, cujus a me corpus crematum est, quod contra decuit ab illo meum; animus vero non me deserens, sed respectans, in ea profecto loca discessit quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum. Quem ego meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quo aequo animo ferrem, sed me ipse consolabar existimans non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore. 86. His mihi rebus, Scipio, id enim te cum Laelio admirari solere dixisti, levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta sed etiam jucunda. Quod si in hoc erro quod animos hominum immortales esse credam, lubenter erro; nec mihi hunc errorem quo delector dum vivo extorqueri volo. Sin mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censent, nihil sentiam, non vereor ne hunc errorem meum mortui philosophi irrideant. Quod si non sumus immortales futuri, tamen extingui homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura ut aliarum omnium rerum sic vivendi modum.

*Corpus crematum*] It seems that in the early republic both burning the body and putting it in the earth were in use, as Cicero (De Legg. ii. 23) infers from the words of the Twelve Tables. The Tables forbade a body to be interred within Rome or burnt within Rome.

*Quod contra decuit*] This, or some form of expression like it, was often used on monumental inscriptions. Manutius gives several examples. One is an inscription at Rome:

"Quod decuit natam patri praestare sepulto,
Hoc contra natae praestitit ipse pater."

Another formula occurs in an inscription in Fabretti, p. 284.

FILIVS · FACERE · QVOD · DEBVERAT · PATRI · MORS · INIQVA · INTERCESSIT · FILIO · FECIT · PATER.

*Quod si in hoc erro quod—credam,*] This differs not at all from the expression in c. 2, "in hoc sumus sapientes quod sequimur," only in the use of 'si,' and that makes no difference, as I believe. If the MSS. may be trusted in such cases, usage was somewhat unsettled as to the indicative or subjunctive following 'quod.' But if either passage is to be altered, we should change 'credam' into 'credo,' as one MS. has it. Comp. Cicero, Verr. ii. 3, c. 68.

*Minuti philosophi*] Such as the Epicureans. In the Tusculanae Disputationes (i. 23), he speaks thus of this class: "Licet concurrant plebeii omnes philosophi, sic enim ii qui a Platone et Socrate et ab ea familia dissident appellandi videntur."

Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae, cujus defatigationem fugere debemus, praesertim adjuncta satietate. Haec habui de senectute quae dicerem, ad quam utinam perveniatis, ut ea quae ex me audistis re experti probare possitis.

*Tamquam fabulae,*] This comparison of life to a play was a common one. When Augustus was dying, he asked the bystanders if they thought that he had brought the farce (mimus) of life to a fit conclusion. (Sueton. Aug. 99.) The emperor Antoninus (Med. xii. 36) closes his work with some worthier reflections: he compares men, when released from life, to an actor whom the praetor has hired, and dismisses when he has done with him. "But," says the actor, "I have not gone through the five acts; I have only gone through three of them. You say well: in life the whole play consists of three acts; for its limit is determined by him, who, as he once framed it, so now dissolves it; but you have nothing to do with either. Go away then content, for he who gave you your dismissal is content." Compare De Sen. c. 19, "neque enim histrioni," &c.

*cujus defatigationem*] There is a reading 'cujus defectionem which Wunder approves, and tries to explain. 'Cujus' refers to 'aetatis.' Cicero says, "now old age is the completion of life, as if it were a play:" it is the last act. He adds, "and in it (old age) we ought to avoid complete exhaustion:" it is better to quit the stage of life before we are completely exhausted: it is time to go when we have had enough. But there is some ambiguity. He may be recommending suicide, when nothing of life is left but pain and weakness; which however I do not take to be the meaning. He has said that death is a thing that a man ought to wish for, because the purpose of living has a limit, just like a play. A play has a last act, and so has life; and it is old age. We ought to shrink from such a state as complete exhaustion; especially when we have had our fill of life. We should rather be glad that there is an end of life than cling to the miserable remnant.

# LAELIUS.

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This treatise was written after the De Senectute. It is appropriately dedicated by Cicero to his friend Atticus. The chief speaker is C. Laelius, the friend of the younger Scipio Africanus; and the supposed time of the dialogue is a few days after the death of Scipio (B.C. 129), who was found dead in his bed, and probably was murdered. The story of his death is told by Appian (Civil Wars, i. 19) and by Plutarch (Life of C. Gracchus, 10). The treatise, like the De Senectute, has the character of an essay rather than of a dialogue, except the introductory part. Though Cicero has taken many maxims, and even forms of expression, from the Greek writers, this treatise on Friendship bears the stamp of originality. It was written by a man who had great experience of life, by a man of a reflecting turn of mind, one who had mingled in some way in public affairs ever since his boyhood; but it was written by a Roman. The notion of friendship is Roman, not universal; and the treatise, in order to be fully understood, must be looked at with reference to Roman opinions, and with reference to the circumstances of the times; the times in which Laelius lived, and of which he speaks, and those in which Cicero lived, and to which he could only allude under the cover of another name. But though Cicero has not made a perfect treatise on friendship, *because he has* viewed it as founded on the

Roman notions of virtue, and connected with the Roman ideal of a State, he has handled the matter well, and in an instructive manner. He who would now treat of it from a different point of view, and in a more comprehensive manner, might still derive something from the Roman original, as Jeremy Taylor has done in his discourse of the Measures and Offices of Friendship. But it is difficult to discuss the nature of friendship, for it is an indeterminate relation. It is a name which is much used and to which certain notions are loosely attached. As we must live in society, and as circumstances, without our own choice, bring us nearer to some than to others, we contract intimacies, to which we often give the name of friendships. If these friendships do not come up to the ideal of the Roman, of which, as he says, all history gives us only a few examples, yet these intimacies are various degrees towards this perfect union, and Cicero's remarks on friendship are practically useful.

It is a kind of fashion to print the Cato Major and the Laelius together. They are both practical treatises, and they have a general resemblance in form. But old age is a much simpler thing to handle than friendship; and those who will carefully read the two treatises, will feel that Cicero found it so. The whole argument of the Laelius, and the connexion of the several parts, are much more difficult to apprehend; many passages have been misunderstood, and the interpretation of several parts is still doubtful. The teacher who will undertake to read the Laelius with a class will find plenty to do, if his exposition is to be of any use to the pupils; for, besides the difficulty in the argument, the matter generally is of a kind that requires a very particular explanation; much more than the plain blunt discourse of Cato. This treatise should certainly never be read before the Cato Major,

nor with it; but after some interval, when the pupils are more advanced. Those who will master it well, will find that they have learned something.

The little that I have done, all that I could do within the limits, may be of some use; and that is all that I can say. After writing my notes I compared them with the very elaborate commentary of Dr. M. Seyffert, Brandenburg, 1844, and by the aid of his notes, most of which are well worth reading, I have been enabled to add some things, to correct others, and sometimes to modify what I had written. Seyffert has also printed the text, and given at the foot the variations of Madvig and Klotz; and his commentary contains the opinions of these and other critics on many difficult passages. His commentary is written for a particular purpose, as he explains in his preface; and with such views as the author had in making it, the notes could hardly be shorter than they are. The text of the Laelius in Seyffert's edition is thirty octavo pages; the commentary is 566 closely-printed pages, besides an index.

I have made more use of Seyffert's notes for this second edition, and I have perhaps explained some parts better. But I see more clearly the difficulties of this treatise, and I am certain that no very young students can read it with profit.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

# LAELIUS SIVE DE AMICITIA DIALOGUS.

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I. 1. Q. Mucius augur multa narrare de C. Laelio socero suo memoriter et jucunde solebat nec dubitare illum in omni sermone appellare sapientem. Ego autem a patre ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam sumpta virili toga, ut quoad possem et liceret a senis latere nunquam discederem. Itaque multa ab eo prudenter disputata, multa etiam breviter et commode dicta memoriae mandabam, fierique studebam ejus prudentia doctior. Quo mortuo me ad

1. *Q. Mucius*] Q. Mucius Scaevola, a member of the illustrious family of the Scaevolae, was called the Augur, to distinguish him from Q. Mucius Scaevola, Pontifex Maximus. The Augur married a daughter of C. Laelius, the friend of the younger Scipio Africanus. Cicero, as he tells us here, and in the Brutus (c. 26), was indebted to the Augur for part of his legal and political education. Cicero was born B.C. 106: the 'virilis toga,' or 'man's dress,' might be assumed on the completion of the fourteenth year; but the ceremony was often deferred later. The Augur was living in B.C. 88. He died before B.C. 82.

*Ita—deductus*] The word 'deduco' was used to signify a father taking his son to a 'jurisconsultus' or 'an orator' to receive his instruction (Tacitus, Dial. de Or. c. 34). The exact rendering of the word 'ita' is difficult. It seems to mean this: "my father took me to the Augur, with an injunction never to quit him," &c., or, as Seyffert says, 'with the view, or with the purpose that I should not,' &c. 'Ita' so placed must be explained by the context. Comp. Cic. Div. c. 1, 13.

*Prudentia*] Mucius was a 'juris-prudens.' See De Sen. c. 9, note; and "prudens in jure civili." (De Am. 2.)

pontificem Scaevolam contuli, quem unum nostrae civitatis et ingenio et justitia praestantissimum audeo dicere. Sed de hoc alias: nunc redeo ad augurem. 2. Quum saepe multa, tum memini domi in hemicyclio sedentem, ut solebat, quum et ego essem una et pauci admodum familiares, in eum sermonem illum incidere qui tum fere [omnibus] erat in ore. Meministi enim profecto, Attice, et eo magis

*Unum*] 'Of all others,' 'especially.' The Greek εἷς is used the same way. Soph. Aj. 1312.

The Pontifex Scaevola, one of the most illustrious of the Romans, "the most eloquent of jurists, and the most learned jurist among orators" (De Or. i. 39), was murdered B.C. 82, before the altar of Vesta. He was the first Roman who wrote a systematic treatise on the Jus Civile.

*Justitia*] The Pontifex was distinguished for 'ingenium' and 'justitia.' 'Ingenium' may be taken for talent generally, but an orator's talent is particularly meant. We have no word for 'justitia.' It is not expressed by 'justice.' Scaevola was a lawyer, and possessed 'jurisprudentia,' or knowledge of the law. But a man may have this without having 'justitia' in the Roman sense, which Cicero (De Fin. v. 23) defines thus: "quae animi affectio suum cuique tribuens, atque hanc quam dico societatem conjunctionis humanae munifice et aeque tuens, justitia dicitur." (Comp. Justin. Inst. i., tit. 1.) He further says "servari enim justitia nisi a forti viro, nisi a sapiente, non potest." The affection of 'justitia' is useless unless a man is both courageous and wise. It is not enough to wish to give every man his due: we must have *courage to do* what *we wish to do, and wisdom* to know what we ought to do. The position and the occupation of a Roman jurist (De Or. iii. 33) gave him an opportunity of displaying this virtue of 'justitia;' and we see it in the fragments of the Roman Law in the Responsa of the jurisprudentes; whose direct, plain, honest purpose, forms a striking contrast with the fondness for quibbling and refined distinctions which our interpreters of law delight in.

*Quum saepe multa,*] Some MSS. add 'narraret;' but this is apparently an interpolation. If we supply 'dicere' or 'narrare,' as some suggest, the difficulty is not removed. The form of the sentence hardly admits of strict grammatical explanation; but the meaning is clear enough. 'Multa' refers to 'Q. Mucius augur multa narrare.' "Now I have a recollection of many of his conversations, and more particularly I remember," &c.

*Hemicyclio*] The Augur sat in the middle, with his hearers around him. The hemicyclium (ἡμικύκλιον) was a semicircular place to sit in, or in which seats were disposed in a semicircular form, or a chair of round form, as some say.

*Fere* [*omnibus*]: 'fere multis,' Seyff.; but 'fere' does not qualify 'multis.' It goes with 'erat in ore.'

quod P. Sulpicio utebare multum, quum is tribunus plebis capitali odio a Quinto Pompeio qui tum erat consul dissidēret, quocum conjunctissime et amantissime vixerat, quanta esset hominum vel admiratio vel querela. 3. Itaque tum Scaevola, quum in eam ipsam mentionem incidisset, exposuit nobis sermonem Laelii de amicitia habitum ab illo secum et cum altero genero C. Fannio M. F. paucis diebus post mortem Africani. Ejus disputationis sententias memoriae mandavi, quas hoc libro exposui arbitratu meo; quasi enim ipsos induxi loquentes, ne inquam et inquit saepius interponeretur, atque ut tamquam a praesentibus coram haberi sermo videretur. Quum enim saepe mecum ageres ut de amicitia scriberem aliquid, digna mihi res quum omnium cognitione tum nostra familiaritate visa est. Itaque feci non invitus ut prodessem multis rogatu tuo. 4. Sed ut in Catone Majore, qui est scriptus ad te de senectute, Catonem induxi senem disputantem, quia nulla videbatur aptior persona quae de illa aetate loqueretur,

*P. Sulpicio*] P. Sulpicius Rufus, 'tribunus plebis,' B.C. 88, in the consulship of L. Cornelius Sulla, and Q. Pompeius Rufus, who was once his friend, and afterwards his enemy. Sulpicius passed over to the Marian faction. Cicero speaks of him (Brutus, 55) as a most powerful orator.

*Capitali odio*] Horat. Sat. i. 7, v. 13, 'ira capitalis.' 'Caput' was used both to express a man's life, and his political condition or rights as a citizen. Here 'capitali' means 'deadly:' a hatred to death, which I suppose means that one man would kill another, if he could or durst.

*C. Fannio M. F.*] That is, 'Marci filio,' a common form of *abridgement,* and of expression in *Roman inscriptions.*

*Paucis diebus post*] See De Sen. c. 6.

*Persona*] Gabius Bassus (Gellius v. 7) derived the word 'a personando' from 'sounding through;' and he explains his etymology by reference to the construction of 'a persona,' or 'mask,' for this was one of the ordinary significations of the word. But this etymology may be safely rejected, though it is difficult to propose another. The word 'persona' was also used to signify a certain 'status,' or condition, which a man fills; and this is its legal sense. A 'person' is not a man simply; it is a man, who holds a certain relation to others, as husband, father, or the like. 'Persona' here means the character or condition of an old man. The 'Laelii persona' is the character of Laelius. In the law writers, 'per-

quam ejus qui et diutissime senex fuisset et in ipsa senectute praeter ceteros floruisset; sic, quum accepissemus a patribus maxime memorabilem C. Laelii et P. Scipionis familiaritatem fuisse, idonea mihi Laelii persona visa est quae de amicitia ea ipsa dissereret quae disputata ab eo meminisset Scaevola. Genus autem hoc sermonum, positum in hominum veterum auctoritate et eorum illustrium, plus nescio quo pacto videtur habere gravitatis. Itaque ipse mea legens sic afficior interdum ut Catonem non me loqui existimem. 5. Sed ut tum ad senem senex de senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus de amicitia scripsi. Tum est Cato locutus quo erat nemo fere senior temporibus illis, nemo prudentior: nunc Laelius et sapiens, sic enim est habitus, et amicitiae gloria excellens de amicitia loquitur. Tu velim animum a me parumper avertas, Laelium loqui ipsum putes. C. Fannius et Q. Mucius ad socerum veniunt post mortem Africani: ab his sermo oritur, respondet Laelius, cujus tota disputatio est de amicitia, quam legens tu te ipsum cognosces.

II. 6. Fannius. Sunt ista, Laeli, nec enim melior vir fuit Africano quisquam nec clarior. Sed existimare debes omnium oculos nunc in te esse conjectos; unum te sapientem et appellant et existimant. Tribuebatur hoc modo M. Catoni; scimus L. Atilium apud patres nostros appel-

sonae' signifies persons, that is, human beings, as invested with a certain character, by which they become objects of law, as opposed to things which are not persons, but either material things, as objects of property, or legal facts, as contracts and the like. Gaius says (Dig. 1, tit. 5, s. 1), "Omne jus quo utimur vel ad personas pertinet vel ad res vel ad actiones;" which is from the Inst. (i. 8), where he adds, "sed prius videamus de personis;" and he then proceeds to treat "de conditione hominum," that is, to treat of the 'jus personarum,' or the law that relates to persons, in the sense above explained.

*Loquitur.*] 'Loquetur,' Seyff. —'tu te ipsum:' 'te ipse,' Seyff.

2. *Esse conjectos*, &c.] Seyffert points it thus: 'in te esse conjectos unum: te sapientem,' &c.

*M. Catoni;*] De Sen. c. 2.— 'L. Atilium:' probably the same who is mentioned by Cicero (De Leg. ii. 23), as one of the earlies

latum esse sapientem: (sed uterque alio quodam modo; Atilius quia prudens esse in jure civili putabatur; Cato quia multarum rerum usum habebat: multa ejus et in Senatu et in foro vel provisa prudenter vel acta constanter vel responsa acute ferebantur: propterea quasi cognomen jam habebat in senectute sapientis. Te autem alio quodam modo, non solum natura et moribus, verum etiam studio et doctrina esse sapientem, nec sicut vulgus sed ut eruditi solent appellare sapientem qualem in reliqua Graecia neminem—7. nam qui septem appellantur, eos qui ista subtilius quaerunt in numero sapientium non habent—Athenis unum accepimus et eum quidem etiam Apollinis oraculo sapientissimum judicatum; hanc esse in te sapientiam existimant ut omnia tua in te posita esse ducas humanosque casus virtute inferiores putes. Itaque ex me quaerunt, credo item ex hoc Scaevola, quonam pacto mortem Africani feras; eoque magis quod his proximis Nonis, quum in hortos D. Bruti auguris commentandi causa, ut assolet,

Roman jurisconsulti. But Bake, in his edition of the De Legibus, has the reading "Hoc veteres interpretes, Sex. Aelius, L. Acilius," &c.

*Habebat:*] Orelli has 'haberet.' The words "multa ejus—ferebantur" are parenthetical.

*Te autem alio quodam—inferiores putes.*] A long and confused sentence, which presents no difficulty in the meaning, but is irregular in its structure. We must either make 'te . . . esse sapientem' depend on 'scimus,' in the words 'scimus L. Atilium . . . quodam modo;' or, as Seyffert says, it must depend on the following verb 'existimant,' which he also considers to be the predicate to '*sicut vulgus*'—'reliqua Graecia:' *if we accept the* reading 'reliqua,' *which Orelli omits*, we must take it as opposed to 'Athenis.'

*Qui septem — subtilius*] Diogenes Laertius (Thales) speaks of these seven worthies; but there was difference of opinion as to their names, and even as to the number seven. Much of their wisdom was of a practical and political kind, as we may judge from the maxims attributed to them. Those who fixed a very high standard of wisdom, such as the Stoics, refused the seven the name of Wise. The one wise man was Socrates, who in the Apology of Plato (c. 5) tells how it happened that the oracle declared him such.

*Commentandi causa,*] The Augurs met occasionally to deliberate (commentari) on such matters as belonged to their duties; and that the Nonae were a usual day for meeting may be inferred from this

venissemus, tu non adfuisti qui diligentissime semper illum diem et illud munus solitus esses obire. 8. SCAEVOLA. Quaerunt quidem, C. Laeli, multi, ut est a Fannio dictum; sed ego id respondeo quod animadverti, te dolorem quem acceperis quum summi viri tum amicissimi morte ferre moderate; nec potuisse non commoveri nec fuisse id humanitatis tuae; quod autem his Nonis in nostro collegio non adfuisses valetudinem respondeo causam non maestitiam fuisse. LAELIUS. Recte tu quidem, Scaevola, et vere. Nec enim ab isto officio quod semper usurpavi quum valerem abduci incommodo meo debui, nec ullo casu arbitror hoc constanti homini posse contingere ut ulla intermissio fiat officii. 9. Tu autem, Fanni, quod mihi tantum tribui dicis quantum ego nec agnosco nec postulo, facis amice; sed, ut mihi videris, non recte judicas de Catone. Aut enim nemo, quod quidem magis credo, aut si quisquam, ille sapiens fuit. Quomodo, ut alia omittam, mortem filii tulit! Memineram Paullum, videram Gallum; sed hi in pueris; Cato in perfecto et spectato viro. 10. Quam-

passage and from another (De Divin. i. 41).

*Non adfuisti qui—solitus esses*] This is generally rendered, "you were not present, though you were accustomed;" and there is perhaps no objection to it, for the word 'quum' might be put in place of 'qui.' 'Qui—solitus esses' is to be taken with the subject 'tu,' as its exponent, as more particularly determining the person of whom the predication is 'non adfuisti;' and this is plain in a Latin sentence, for, though it implies an affirmation, the affirmation is subordinate to that contained in the indicative mood.

*In nostro collegio*] 'In collegio adesse' was a usual formula, as appears from the inscriptions cited by Manutius.—'valetudinem respondeo:' Seyffert observes that 'respondeo' is in all good MSS., and there is no reason for rejecting it. Orelli and Madvig omit it.

*Usurpavi*] 'Usurpo' means to 'use frequently or continuously.' Compare De Am. 8, 'Memoriam usurpet.' It has a peculiar legal sense, which signifies the interruption of Usucapio (Dig. 41, tit. 3, s. 2); but it also is used to signify the preservation of a legal right by the exercise of it.

*Quod mihi*] Orelli has 'qui mihi . . . dicis,' which I followed in the first edition; but wrongly. 'Quod' is the proper form here.

*Quomodo, &c.*] Compare De Sen. c. 4, "multa in eo viro," &c.

*Cato in perfecto, &c.*] "In the

obrem cave Catoni anteponas ne istum quidem ipsum quem Apollo, ut ais, sapientissimum judicavit. Hujus enim facta, illius dicta laudantur. De me autem, ut jam cum utroque loquar, sic habetote.

III. Ego si Scipionis desiderio me moveri negem, quam id recte faciam viderint sapientes; sed certe mentiar. Moveor enim tali amico orbatus, qualis, ut arbitror, nemo unquam erit; ut confirmare possum, nemo certe fuit. Sed non egeo medicina: me ipse consolor et maxime illo solatio quod eo errore careo quo amicorum decessu plerique angi solent. Nihil enim mali accidisse Scipioni puto; mihi accidit si quid accidit. Suis autem incommodis graviter angi non amicum sed se ipsum amantis est. 11. Cum illo vero quis neget actum esse praeclare? Nisi enim, quod ille minime putabat, immortalitatem optare vellet, quid non est adeptus quod homini fas esset optare? qui summam spem civium, quam de eo jam puero habuerant, continuo adolescens incredibili virtute superavit;

case of, in the matter of a full-grown man," &c. as the words 'in pueris' show. Cato's son had been elected praetor before his death. He was 'spectatus,' that is, he had given proof of his merit. In the Ep. ad Div. (v. 12) there is the expression: "auctoritas clarissimi et spectatissimi viri et in rei publicae maximis gravissimisque causis cogniti," &c.

3. *Ego*, &c.] 'Ego' is used when the 'I' is emphatic, and it is here in its emphatic position. As to 'negem,' 'if I were to deny,' 'mentiar,' 'I should lie,' see De Sen. c. 19.—'nihil mali:' Seyff.

*Suis autem*] The place of 'autem' is never first in a sentence. Its general sense is that of *addition, something* further or more. (*Key's Grammar.*) Also *something in the* way of contrast, a meaning not far removed from the other; "quis autem est qui," &c. De Am. 8.

*Optare vellet,*] "Unless he had conceived the thought of wishing;" "unless he had chosen to desire." Here the meanings of 'volo' and 'opto' are distinguished. See De Sen. 1. Lambinus finds a difficulty in the expression 'optare vellet,' and affirms, that 'velle' and 'optare' mean nearly the same thing; wherein he is mistaken, as many examples show; as, for instance, 'audire voluisset,' De Am. 20: 'volunt,' and 'si id volumus,' De Am. 22: and a hundred others.

*Continuo adolescens*] 'Continuus' means 'continuous,' 'uninterrupted;' hence it is used to express one thing immediately following another, as in this passage.

qui consulatum petiit nunquam, factus est consul bis; primum ante tempus; iterum sibi suo tempore, rei publicae paene sero; qui, duabus urbibus eversis inimicissimis huic imperio, non modo praesentia verum etiam futura bella delevit. Quid dicam de moribus facillimis, de pietate in matrem, liberalitate in sorores, bonitate in suos, justitia in omnes? Nota sunt vobis. Quam autem civitati carus fuerit maerore funeris indicatum est. Quid igitur hunc paucorum annorum accessio juvare potuisset? Senectus enim quamvis non sit gravis, ut memini Catonem anno ante quam mortuus est mecum et cum Scipione disserere, tamen aufert eam viriditatem in qua etiamnum erat Scipio. 12. Quamobrem vita quidem talis fuit vel fortuna vel gloria ut nihil posset accedere: moriendi autem sensum celeritas abstulit. Quo de genere mortis difficile dictu est; quid homines suspicentur videtis. Hoc vere tamen licet dicere, P. Scipioni ex multis diebus quos in vita celeberrimos laetissimosque viderit illum diem clarissimum fuisse, quum Senatu dimisso domum reductus ad vesperum est a Patribus conscriptis, populo Romano, sociis et La-

*Consul bis;*] Scipio Africanus was elected consul for B.C. 147, though he was not of the age required by law. He was consul again in B.C. 134, at which time he was of the legal age.

*Sibi suo*] Forcellini compares this with other passages, in which 'suo sibi' occurs, as in the Prologus of the Captivi of Plautus (v. 50), "ita nunc ignorans suo sibi servit patri." But this and the like passages are manifestly different from the text, which means that he was made consul a second time, and in due time, at the proper time, as regards himself, but almost too late for the state. The two cities are Carthage and Numantia in Spain, both of which he destroyed.

*Indicatum est.*] Seyffert has 'iudicatum est.' The two words are easily confounded in the MSS.

*Etiamnum*] Some of the MSS. have 'etiam nunc,' and others, 'etiam tunc.' Both the forms, 'etiamnum' and 'etiam nunc,' occur in the printed texts of Latin authors. If 'etiamnum' is right, it is obviously only a euphonic form of 'etiamnunc,' as some editions have it.

*Populo Romano, sociis et Latinis,*] Ernesti's reading, "a populi Romani sociis et Latinis," is a gross blunder. The context shows that he was conducted home by the senate, the Roman people, the Socii and the Latini. 'Socii et

tinis, pridie quam excessit e vita; ut ex tam alto dignitatis gradu ad superos videatur deos potius quam ad inferos pervenisse.

IV. 13. Neque enim assentior iis qui haec nuper disserere coeperunt, cum corporibus simul animos interire atque omnia morte deleri. Plus apud me antiquorum auctoritas valet vel nostrorum majorum qui mortuis tam religiosa jura tribuerunt, quod non fecissent profecto, si

Latini,' or 'socii nomenque Latinum,' is the usual formula to express the people in alliance with Rome, among whom the 'Latini' held a pre-eminent place, and are therefore specially named. Before the Social War, B.C. 90, the Roman state comprehended Cives Romani, Latini, that is, the citizens of the old Latin towns and the Latinae coloniae, socii or inhabitants of Italy, who did not belong to either of the first two classes, and the provinciales or subjects of Rome beyond the limits of Italy. (Savigny, Zeitschrift für Geschicht. Rechtsw. vol. xi.; and Vermischt. Schrift. vol. i.)

Scipio after his return from Spain became the defender of the interests of those whose possessions were endangered by the Agrarian Lex of Ti. Gracchus, and he attempted to prevent the Lex from being carried into effect. It seems that he had exerted himself on this matter in the senate the evening before his death, and was attended to his home by a great concourse of people, after Roman fashion, to show their attachment to him. See Appian, B. C. i. 19, &c.

4. *Iis qui haec nuper*] Cicero means to refer this remark to the period of Laelius, when the doctrines of the Epicureans began to have some vogue in Rome, doctrines entirely at variance with the old religious feelings.

*Religiosa jura*] Manutius and some others take 'jura' to be equivalent to 'justa;' but, if they mean 'justa' in the limited sense of funeral rites and ceremonials, they are mistaken. The expression, "tribuere jura mortuis," "to give rights to the dead," is not a strictly correct expression, for a dead man can have no rights, because his personality has ceased to exist; but in a sense, the dead might be considered as having rights, because their monuments and places of sepulture were protected. The word 'religiosa' refers to interment and sepulchres. "Sacrae res,' says Gaius (ii. 2), "sunt quae dii superis consecratae sunt; religiosae quae diis Manibus relictae sunt." A spot of ground (locus) belonging to a man became 'religiosus,' if a body was buried there with his consent. The title in the Digest, 11, tit. 7, 'De Religiosis,' &c. may be consulted. The common heading of a monumental inscription, 'Diis Manibus,' is explained by the passage from Gaius. Compare also Tusc. Disp. i. 12; and De Legg. ii. 22. There is also 'religionum jura,' the rules of law that concern religion. (Cic. Verr. ii. 4. c. 45.)

nihil ad eos pertinere arbitrarentur; vel eorum qui in hac terra fuerunt magnamque Graeciam (quae nunc quidem deleta est tunc florebat) institutis et praeceptis suis erudierunt; vel ejus qui Apollinis oraculo sapientissimus est judicatus, qui non tum hoc, tum illud, ut in plerisque, sed idem semper, Animos hominum esse divinos, iisque quum e corpore excessissent reditum in coelum patere, optimoque et justissimo cuique expeditissimum. 14. Quod item Scipioni videbatur qui quidem, quasi praesagiret, perpaucis ante mortem diebus quum et Philus et Manilius adessent et alii plures, tuque etiam, Scaevola, mecum venisses, triduum disseruit de re publica; cujus disputationis fuit extremum fere de immortalitate animorum, quae se in quiete per visum ex Africano audisse dicebat. Id si ita est ut

*Si nihil ad eos*] This means that the old Romans would not have been so careful about the dead, if they had thought that what they did was a matter of indifference to the dead, and did not affect them in any way; if they had thought that the dead had lost all perception and consciousness. Sir John Davies in his Poem on the Original, Nature, and Immortality of the Soul (s. 30) has the same idea:

"From this desire that main desire proceeds
Which all men have surviving fame to gain,
By tombs, by books, by memorable deeds,
For she that this desires doth still remain."

*Magnamque Graeciam*] Magna Graecia (μεγάλη Ἑλλάς) was the part of Lower Italy possessed by the Greek colonies. The philosophers who are alluded to, are the Pythagoreans, whose doctrines spread over a large part of South Italy.

*Ut in plerisque,*] Manutius saw that this was the true reading, and he explained it correctly. Socrates never varied in his opinion on the immortality of the soul; but on other matters, after his fashion, affirmed little or nothing; he chiefly puzzled others. The context shows that this is the right reading; and yet some would prefer 'ut plerique.'

*De re publica;*] Cicero wrote a treatise De Re Publica, which was discovered by A. Mai, and first published by him in 1822. It is a dialogue, and corresponds to the description here given of it. The sixth and last book contains the Somnium Scipionis, which up to the time of Mai's discovery was printed as a separate piece; though the whole treatise was said to exist. See the Preface of Petrus Ramus (Ramée) to the Somnium Scipionis.

*Quae—dicebat.*] There is no word to which 'quae' grammatically refers, but it refers in meaning to 'immortalitate animorum;'

optimi cujusque animus in morte facillime evolet tamquam e custodia vinculisque corporis, cui censemus cursum ad Deos faciliorem fuisse quam Scipioni? Quocirca maerere hoc ejus eventu vereor ne invidi magis quam amici sit. Sin autem illa veriora ut idem interitus sit animorum et corporum nec ullus sensus maneat, ut nihil boni est in morte, sic certe nihil mali. Sensu enim amisso, fit idem quasi natus non esset omnino; quem tamen esse natum et nos gaudemus et haec civitas dum erit laetabitur. 15. Quamobrem cum illo quidem, ut supra dixi, actum optime est, mecum incommodius, quem fuerat aequius, ut prius introieram, sic prius exire de vita. Sed tamen recordatione nostrae amicitiae sic fruor ut beate vixisse videar, quia cum Scipione vixerim; quocum mihi conjuncta cura de re publica et de privata fuit, quocum et domus fuit et militia communis, et id in quo est omnis vis amicitiae, voluntatum, studiorum, sententiarum summa consensio. Itaque non tam ista me sapientiae quam modo Fannius commemoravit fama delectat, falsa praesertim, quam quod amicitiae nostrae memoriam spero sempiternam fore. Idque

and the passage in the De Sen. 3, "quae C. Salinator," &c. may be compared with it. Seyffert cites another example (Ep. ad Div. ii. 8): "complures dies nullis in aliis nisi de re publica sermonibus versatus sum, quae nec possunt scribi," &c. The word 'fere' qualifies 'de immortalitate.'

*Sensu enim amisso,*] The beginning of the sentence is a general remark, and does not apply particularly to Scipio. The nominative to 'natus esset' must be supplied from the following clause, 'quem tamen,' &c. "Fit idem quasi" means, "it is just as if a man had never been born." The latter part of the sentence creates some difficulty, because it appears as if a particular person, Scipio for instance, were meant, but it may be explained; "and yet we are pleased that a man has been born, and this state will rejoice over his birth, so long as it shall exist." Seyffert says: "the subject in 'natus esset' is not immediately Scipio, who is not alluded to at all in the preceding sentence, but it is to be derived grammatically out of the relative clause 'quem tamen,' &c."

As to 'idem quasi,' compare De Legg. ii. 21, "eodem loco res sit quasi," &c.

*Militia communis,*] Laelius accompanied Scipio to the war against Carthage, which ended in the destruction of the city, B.C. 146.

mihi eo magis est cordi quod ex omnibus seculis vix tria aut quattuor nominantur paria amicorum; quo in genere sperare videor Scipionis et Laelii amicitiam notam posteritati fore. 16. FANN. Istud quidem, Laeli, ita necesse est. Sed quoniam amicitiae mentionem fecisti et sumus otiosi, pergratum mihi feceris, spero item Scaevolae, si quemadmodum soles de ceteris rebus quum ex te quaeruntur, sic de amicitia disputaris quid sentias, qualem existimes, quae praecepta des. SCAEV. Mihi vero [pergratum erit]; atque id ipsum quum tecum agere conarer, Fannius antevertit. Quamobrem utrique nostrum gratum admodum feceris.

V. 17. LAEL. Ego vero non gravarer, si mihi ipse confiderem; nam et praeclara res est, et sumus, ut dixit Fannius, otiosi. Sed quis ego sum? aut quae est in me facultas? Doctorum est ista consuetudo eaque Graecorum ut iis ponatur de quo disputent quamvis subito. Magnum opus est egetque exercitatione non parva. Quamobrem quae disputari de amicitia possunt, ab eis censeo petatis qui ista profitentur. Ego vos hortari tantum possum ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis.

*Vix tria*] The rarity of true friendship is shown, says Cicero (De Fin. i. 20), by the fictions of antiquity, which supply only three instances, beginning with Theseus and ending with Orestes. The friendship of Theseus and Pirithous is the first, that of Achilles and Patroclus is the second instance, and that of Orestes and Pylades the third. Cicero (De Off. iii. 10) has a fourth instance and in the historical period, in Damon and Phintias, or Pythias, as the name is sometimes written.

*Aut*] On the difference between 'aut' and '*vel*,' *see Key's Grammar, 1444. The propositions* connected by 'aut' are distinct and different, as in this example; and they may be contradictory, as when 'aut' is repeated: 'aut enim nemo . . . aut ille' (De Am. 2). When 'vel' is used, the difference between the two things is viewed as immaterial, and both may be true, as in 'vel nostrorum majorum vel eorum' (De Am. 4); 'vel in eis,' &c. (De Am. 9.)

This will explain the emphatic use of 'vel' in the sense of 'even,' as in (De Sen. 20), "qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis," &c.

*Quum ex te*] "Quae ex te," Seyff.

Nihil est enim tam naturae aptum tam conveniens ad res vel secundas vel adversas. 18. Sed hoc primum sentio nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse; neque id ad vivum reseco, ut illi qui haec subtilius disserunt, fortasse vere sed ad communem utilitatem parum; negant enim quemquam virum bonum esse nisi sapientem. Sit ita sane; sed eam sapientiam interpretantur quam adhuc mortalis nemo est consecutus. Nos autem ea quae sunt in usu vitaque communi, non ea quae finguntur aut optantur, spectare debemus. Nunquam ego dicam C. Fabricium, M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium, quos sapientes nostri majores judicabant, ad istorum normam fuisse sapientes. Quare sibi habeant sapientiae nomen et invidiosum et obscurum; concedant ut hi boni viri fuerint. Ne id quidem facient. Negabunt id nisi sapienti posse concedi. 19. Agamus igitur pingui Minerva, ut aiunt. Qui ita se gerunt, ita vivunt, ut eorum probetur fides, integritas, aequitas, liberalitas, nec sit in eis ulla cupiditas vel libido vel audacia, sintque magna constantia, ut ii fuerunt modo quos nominavi, hos viros bonos, ut habiti sunt, sic etiam appellandos putemus, quia sequantur quantum homines

5. *Nisi in bonis*] 'Except among the good;' and, shortly after, 'nisi sapientem' and 'nisi sapienti.' The use of 'nisi' was in its origin undoubtedly elliptical, but, as happens in the course of time, the word finally obtained a sense something very like 'praeterquam.'

*Ad vivum reseco,*] This means to 'cut down, or probe to the flesh, to the quick;' a surgical metaphor. Laelius means to say, that he will not too narrowly examine the sense of what he has expressed, or take it in its strictest sense, but in a *practical sense.*

*Pingui Minerva, ut aiunt.*] Or '*pingui, ut aiunt, Minerva,*' as Seyffert has it. A proverb, as the words "ut aiunt" indicate. Minerva, the goddess of the useful arts and liberal sciences, is here used as equivalent to 'ingenium;' and 'pingui Minerva' means 'with plain mother wit' as opposed to those who 'haec subtilius disserunt,' the Stoics. Horace (ii. Sat. ii. 3) has the expression "Rusticus, abnormis sapiens crassaque Minerva," where Heindorf's explanation is properly rejected by Seyffert.

*Aequitas,*] Seyff. has 'aequalitas;' and he writes 'ulla cupiditas, libido, audacia.'

*Quia sequantur*] Madvig has

possunt naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem. Sic enim mihi perspicere videor, ita natos esse nos ut inter omnes esset societas quaedam, major autem ut quisque proxime accederet. Itaque cives potiores quam peregrini, propinqui quam alieni: cum his enim amicitiam natura ipsa peperit; sed ea non satis habet firmitatis. Namque hoc praestat amicitia propinquitati quod ex propinquitate benevolentia tolli potest, ex amicitia non potest. Sublata enim benevolentia, amicitiae nomen tollitur, propinquitatis manet. 20. Quanta autem vis amicitiae sit ex hoc intelligi maxime potest, quod ex infinita societate generis humani, quam conciliavit ipsa natura, ita contracta res est et adducta in angustum ut omnis caritas aut inter duos aut inter paucos jungeretur.

VI. Est autem amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divi-

'quia sequuntur.' Seyffert says, "that the subjunctive 'sequantur' after 'quia' is necessarily required by the judgment being made dependent on 'putemus.'" I don't think that 'putemus' has any thing to do with the explanation. It is that use of 'quia' which might be expressed by 'qui.' He thinks that they ought to be so called, because they follow nature. The indicative would mean that those who do follow nature ought to be so called.

*Ita natos esse nos ut—societas*] Here it is affirmed that human society is a consequence of man's nature; a necessity, therefore, and not a choice. The absurd modern doctrine of a social contract is implicitly denied. Society, morality, government, law, must exist, always have existed, and always will exist. Cicero says that 'ipsa natura' has brought together human *society, that is,* man's *constitution or nature* necessitates human society; and as man's constitution is not his own work, society, government, and law are not his work, but the work of Him who made man's nature what it is. The Emperor Antoninus, whose judgment was as large and just as his morality was pure, says (Med. ii. 1): "we are made for co-operation as feet are, as hands, as eyelids, as the rows of the upper and lower teeth." Compare St. Paul's argument (Ep. to the Romans, xii. 4, 5, &c.). Aristotle (Polit. i. 1) has the fundamental assertion, "that man is naturally a social (πολιτικόν) animal."

6. *Amicitia*] 'The perfect agreement about all things divine and human,' has reference to a Roman division of things into things which directly concern religion, and things which directly concern the affairs of human life. The Roman notion of marriage is an instance of this (Dig. 23, tit. 2, s. 1): "nuptiae sunt conjunctio maris et fe-

narum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate summa consensio; qua quidem haud scio an excepta sapientia nihil melius homini sit a Diis immortalibus datum. Divitias alii praeponunt, bonam alii valetudinem, alii potentiam, alii honores, multi etiam voluptates. Beluarum hoc quidem extremum [est]: illa autem superiora caduca et incerta, posita non tam in consiliis nostris quam in fortunae temeritate. Qui autem in virtute summum bonum ponunt, praeclare illi quidem; sed haec ipsa virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet; nec sine virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest. 21. Jam virtutem ex consuetudine vitae sermonisque nostri interpretemur, nec eam, ut quidam docti, verborum magnificentia metiamur; virosque bonos eos qui habentur numeremus, Paullos, Catones, Gallos, Scipiones, Philos: his communis vita contenta est: eos autem omittamus qui omnino nusquam reperiuntur. Tales igitur inter viros amicitia tantas opportunitates habet quantas vix queo dicere. 22. Principio, qui potest esse vita vitalis, ut ait Ennius, quae non in amici mutua

minae, consortium omnis vitae, divini et humani juris communicatio." 'Communicatio' means 'the intercommunion.' Between husband and wife there is a complete participation in all things. Laelius requires the same in friendship, for when he says 'omnium divinarum, &c. consensio,' he means a perfect agreement of opinion on all things, which in itself does not make friendship, for it must be combined with mutual good-will and affection, but this perfect agreement is necessary as the foundation of friendship.

*Summa consensio;*] Seyffert omits 'summa.'

*Haud scio an—nihil*] This is Ernesti's reading, and Madvig's. Orelli and Seyffert have 'quidquam' in place of 'nihil.' See De Sen. 16. It is not improbable that Roman usage might be somewhat unsettled in such cases, for the first part of the clause 'utrum' being suppressed, the enunciation of the second might be carelessly made. I am inclined to think that when the writer intends to give his assent to a negative, as in this instance, the negative should be expressed: and so in De Legg. i. 21, Ad Att. iv. 3, 1, where Orelli has 'nulli.'

*Opportunitates*] The word is explained by what follows. It means that the nature of friendship is such that it offers many advantages: it is a thing which brings with it the means, the capacity for many good things.

*Vita vitalis,*] This is a Greek

benevolentia conquiescat? Quid dulcius quam habere quicum omnia audeas sic loqui ut tecum? Quis esset tantus fructus in prosperis rebus, nisi haberes qui illis aeque ac tu ipse gauderet? Adversas vero ferre difficile esset sine eo qui illas gravius etiam quam tu ferret. Denique ceterae res quae expetuntur opportunae sunt singulae rebus fere singulis; divitiae ut utare; opes ut colare; honores ut laudere; voluptates ut gaudeas; valetudo ut dolore careas et muneribus fungare corporis: amicitia res plurimas continet. Quoquo te verteris praesto est: nullo loco excluditur: nunquam intempestiva, nunquam molesta est: itaque non aqua, non igni, ut aiunt, locis pluribus utimur quam amicitia. Neque ego nunc de vulgari aut de mediocri, quae tamen ipsa et delectat et prodest, sed de vera et perfecta loquor qualis eorum qui pauci nominantur fuit. Nam et secundas res splendidiores facit amicitia, et adversas partiens communicansque leviores.

form of expression βίος βιωτός, of which the negative is βίος ἀβίωτος or οὐ βιωτός: "what life can be worth living, worth calling life?"

*Conquiescat?*] There is a reading 'conquiescit.' The sentence with a slight alteration would admit the indicative, that is, if it were intended to affirm directly something of a life 'quae . . . non conquiescit;' but here the predicate in the clause "quae . . . non conquiescat" is in the form of a condition, 'if it does not;' and the clause is entirely subordinate to that which contains the indicative mood. An example of a direct and independent affirmation occurs a little farther on in this chapter, "quae tamen ipsa et delectat," &c. The substance of this section (22) is contained in Aristotle, Eth. Nicom. viii. 1.

*Aeque ac*] 'As much as yourself;' or the expression might be 'aeque atque,' 'ac' being apparently an abbreviation of 'atque.' This form has evidently arisen from an elliptical expression, as in Cicero (Brutus, 71): "qui tibi sunt aeque noti ac mihi," "who are equally known to you and to me." Comp. Verr. ii. 3, c. 19. See other examples of 'aeque,' with 'ac,' and 'quam,' in Forcellini.

*Non igni, ut aiunt,*] This is Cicero's way of quoting an expression in common use. Water and fire were proverbially things that a man could not do without. In the formula of 'exsilium' the 'interdictio' is of 'aqua et ignis,' to which 'tectum' is sometimes added. See De Sen. c. 7, note.

VII. 23. Quumque plurimas et maximas commoditates amicitia contineat, tum illa nimirum praestat omnibus quod bona spe praelucet in posterum nec debilitari animos aut cadere patitur. Verum enim amicum qui intuetur, tamquam exemplar aliquod intuetur sui. Quocirca et absentes adsunt et egentes abundant et imbecilli valent, et, quod difficilius dictu est, mortui vivunt; tantus eos honos, memoria, desiderium prosequitur amicorum. Ex quo illorum beata mors videtur, horum vita laudabilis. Quod si exemeris ex rerum natura benevolentiae conjunctionem, nec domus ulla nec urbs stare poterit; ne agri quidem cultus permanebit. Id si minus intelligitur, quanta vis amicitiae concordiaeque sit ex dissensionibus atque discordiis percipi potest. Quae enim domus tam stabilis, quae tam firma civitas est, quae non odiis atque discidiis funditus possit everti? ex quo quantum boni sit in amicitia judicari potest. 24. Agrigentinum quidem doctum

7. *Quumque—contineat, tum—praestat*] The treatise "De Natura Deorum," in Orelli's text, begins thus: "Quum multae res in philosophia nequaquam satis adhuc explicatae sint, tum perdifficilis, . . quaestio est de natura deorum," where several MSS. have 'sunt.'

*Bona spe praelucet*] Orelli has "bonam spem."

*Quocirca*] He has just said that "he who looks on a true friend, sees a kind of copy of himself;" by which he means that the two friends are one, as the sentence 'quocirca' explains. For when he says that the 'absent are present' and so on, he can only mean that the absent is present in his friend; and the dead lives in the living friend. But all this is very vague talk.

*Discidiis*] Seyffert has 'discidiis,' and he gives Madvig's argument for affirming that there is no word 'dissidium,' and that we should always write 'discidium.' Seyffert says that the best MSS. have 'discidiis' here, and yet Orelli takes no notice of this reading. 'Discidiis' may be the genuine form, and it is that which the oldest and best MSS. have whenever the word occurs.

*Agrigentinum*] He means Empedocles, who expounded his theological and physical doctrines in hexameter verse. He wrote a didactic poem on nature. The fragments of his works have been collected and expounded by modern scholars (F. W. Sturz, 1805, and S. Karsten, 1838; see also Ritter and Preller, Hist. Philosoph.). The associating principle of all things, according to Empedocles, was φιλότης, friendship; the dissociating principle, νεῖκος, discord.

quendam virum carminibus Graecis vaticinatum ferunt, quae in rerum natura totoque mundo constarent quaeque moverentur, ea contrahere amicitiam, dissipare discordiam. Atque hoc quidem omnes mortales et intelligunt et re probant. Itaque si quando aliquod officium extitit amici in periculis aut adeundis aut communicandis, quis est qui id non maximis efferat laudibus? Qui clamores tota cavea nuper in hospitis et amici mei M. Pacuvii nova fabula; quum ignorante Rege uter eorum esset Orestes, Pylades Orestem se esse diceret, ut pro illo necaretur; Orestes autem, ita ut erat, Orestem se esse perseveraret. Stantes plaudebant in re ficta: quid arbitramur in vera facturos fuisse? Facile indicabat ipsa natura vim suam, quum homines quod facere ipsi non possent id recte fieri in altero judicarent. Hactenus mihi videor de amicitia quid sentirem potuisse dicere. Siqua praeterea sunt, credo autem esse multa, ab iis, si videbitur, qui ista disputant quaeritote. 25. Fann. Nos autem a te potius: quamquam etiam ab istis saepe quaesivi et audivi non invitus equidem, sed aliud quoddam filum orationis tuae.

*M. Pacuvii*] Pacuvius, a native of Brundusium, was probably born about B.C. 220, and therefore was a contemporary of Ennius, whose kinsman he is also said to have been. He was the most distinguished of the three old Roman tragic writers.

*Nova fabula;*] The 'Dulorestes,' an imitation or adaptation of the 'Iphigenia in Tauris' of Euripides. Orelli and Seyffert omit 'eorum.' Cicero (De Fin. v. 22) quotes a few lines from this Roman play. See Cicero, De Or. iii. 7.

*Stantes*] Does not mean that the spectators had no seats; for if they had none, it would be an idle word. They were so excited that they rose or stood.

*Quum homines*, &c.] The use of 'quum,' with the imperfect subjunctive, to denote a persistent state or condition of things, with the imperfect or perfect in the direct proposition, can hardly be misunderstood. (De Sen. 1, 4, 5, 6, &c.) The use of the subjunctive 'possent' by no means necessarily follows from the fact of its being a part of the clause 'quum;' for "quod facere non possent" does not mean what they had found themselves unable to do, but what, in like circumstances, they would not be able to do. Comp. De Am. 8: "Quippe quum propter virtutem et probitatem eos etiam quos nunquam vidimus quodam modo diligamus."

*Aliud quoddam filum*] After 'quoddam,' Ernesti, following

SCAEV. Tum magis id diceres, Fanni, si nuper in hortis Scipionis, quum est de re publica disputatum, adfuisses. Qualis tum patronus justitiae fuit contra accuratam orationem Phili! FANN. Facile id quidem fuit justitiam justissimo viro defendere. SCAEV. Quid amicitiam? Nonne facile ei qui ob eam summa fide constantia justitiaque servatam maximam gloriam ceperit?

VIII. 26. LAEL. Vim hoc quidem est afferre. Quid enim refert qua me ratione cogatis? Cogitis certe. Studiis enim generorum, praesertim in re bona, quum difficile est tum ne aequum quidem obsistere. Saepissime igitur mihi de amicitia cogitanti maxime illud considerandum

some MSS., has 'expetimus,' and others have 'expectamus,' which is an example of the insertion of an idle word, which spoils the sense. Neither is 'est' wanted here. He means to say, that the thread of your discourse is something different; you handle the matter in a different way, give it a different form. The use of the term is derived from spinning: the thread may be coarse or fine, weak or strong. Horace has an expression which is an apt illustration (ii. Ep. i. 225): "tenui deducta poemata filo." Comp. Cic. de Or. iii. 26, and Orat. c. 36.

*Accuratam orationem*] 'Elaborate,' 'laboured,' 'correct,' as in the expressions 'accuratus sermo,' and the like; an example of the necessity of keeping clear of many English words which, though derived from the Latin, have not yet the exact meaning of the Latin. L. Furius Philus, one of the speakers in the De Re Publica, is characterized by Cicero (Brutus, 28) as one who spoke Latin very well, and had more literary acquirements than his contemporaries. This discourse was in the third book of the De Re Publica, which is very defective in the MS. Philus is represented as giving the opinions of Carneades, which are stated by Lactantius, Inst. v. 16.

*Ceperit?*] 'What requires the subjunctive?' says Seyffert. It is the Roman fashion, for the expression is general: "Is it not easy for a man who has got the greatest fame for maintaining friendship with the most perfect fidelity, consistency, and rectitude of purpose:" for so I translate 'justitia,' which is the straightness of a purpose, in the right direction.

8. *Quid—refert*] On this form 'refert,' which appears to contain the crude form of 'res,' see Key's Grammar.

*Ratione*] 'Rogatione,' Ernesti, manifestly a blunder.

*Illud considerandum*] The use of 'illud,' referring to a proposition which follows, may be explained by other passages: Ad Q. Fr. 11, "simul et illud," &c.; 13, "quare illud non suscipiam," &c.; 15, "simul et illud cogita," &c.; and De Am. 14, "quod si etiam illud

videri solet, utrum propter imbecillitatem atque inopiam desiderata sit amicitia, ut dandis recipiendisque meritis, quod quisque minus per se ipse posset, id acciperet ab alio vicissimque redderet, an esset hoc quidem proprium amicitiae, sed antiquior et pulchrior et magis a natura ipsa profecta alia causa. Amor enim, ex quo amicitia nominata est, princeps est ad benevolentiam conjungendam. Nam utilitates quidem etiam ab iis percipiuntur saepe qui simulatione amicitiae coluntur et observantur temporis causa: in amicitia autem nihil fictum, nihil simulatum; et quidquid est, id et verum est et voluntarium. 27. Quapropter a natura mihi videtur potius quam ab

addimus," &c. In place of 'utrum propter,' Ernesti and some MSS. have 'num;' and 'num,' followed by 'an,' can be thus used. (De Sen. 6.)

*Dandis*, &c.] Seyffert argues that the reading 'in dandis,' &c. must be rejected, because the object here is to express a means or instrument for doing something, and not to express 'with respect to,' or 'in the matter of;' and he seems to be right.

*Quapropter a natura*, &c.] 'Quapropter' is equivalent to 'quam rem propter,' and is the correlative of 'propterea,' of which word and of 'antea,' 'interea,' Professor Key remarks (Gram. § 802), they "appear to have been corrupted from accusatives in 'am.'" Compare also 'antequam,' 'postquam,' 'contraquam' (Ad Q. Fr. c. 1), 'extraquam' (Cic. Ad Att. vi. 1).

Cicero's explanation that friendship proceeds rather from 'nature' than from a want of something, is true, but hardly well expressed. *All want is natural, that is,* a part *of our nature. But* he means to say that there is a natural feeling of affection, independent of any calculation of profit. We love, without considering the profit or advantage of the love; and the affection is satisfied and has its fulness in itself. He means to say, that we have certain feelings, such as love of a person, in which there is mingled no element of self interest as their foundation or origin. In the beginning of his Metaphysica, Aristotle says: "All men naturally (φύσει, natura) seek to know; and the evidence of it is the love of our sensations; for even independent of the utility, they are loved for their own sake, and chief of all the sensation that we have through the eyes: for it is not only in order that we may act, but even though we design no act at all, that we choose to see in preference, as one may, to other things." So of the affections. It is an error of some who have expounded a selfish or self-regarding system, to suppose that man has no moral affections independent of the utility that he may derive from them. Benevolence, for instance,

indigentia orta amicitia, applicatione magis animi cum quodam sensu amandi quam cogitatione quantum illa res utilitatis esset habitura. Quod quidem quale sit etiam in bestiis quibusdam animadverti potest, quae ex se natos ita amant ad quoddam tempus et ab eis ita amantur ut facile earum sensus appareat. Quod in homine multo est evidentius: primum ex ea caritate quae est inter natos et parentes, quae dirimi nisi detestabili scelere non potest: deinde, quum similis sensus exstitit amoris, si aliquem nacti sumus cujus cum moribus et natura congruamus, quod in eo quasi lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis perspicere videamur. 28. Nihil est enim amabilius virtute; nihil quod magis alliciat ad diligendum: quippe quum propter virtutem et probitatem etiam eos quos nunquam

is perfect and complete: it gives pleasure to the benevolent man, but its origin is not in the calculation of this pleasure, though a wise man may reasonably cherish the feeling from a knowledge of the pleasure and advantages that it gives (De Am. 9). Those who would avoid some of the false philosophy that infects modern as well as it did ancient times, should consider this matter, and they will be helped by the reading of Bp. Butler's preface to his sermons. Those who (De Am. 9) make love have its origin in interest or calculation of interest, do not merely give it a mean origin, as Cicero says, for that would in itself be no objection to the opinion, if it were true, but they give it a false origin; they affirm that to be true which observation shows us not to be true. They falsify a fact. This is stated clearly (De Am. 9), "Sic et utilitates," &c.

*The example* of animals is cited *to show that* even they have certain affections, which are founded on no calculation or estimate of advantage. Comp. Aristotle, Eth. Nicom. viii. 1, and Soph. Electr. v. 1041: Τί τοὺς ἄνωθεν, &c.

*Evidentius:*] The simple meaning of the word appears from a passage of Ulpian (Dig. 14. 3. 11), where he is speaking of a public notice: "Proscribere . . . nec in loco remoto sed evidente."

*Quippe quum*, &c.] 'Quippe,' contains 'qui,' and a termination 'pe,' which may be only another form of the word 'qui.' This word is often used alone with the indicative; and in conjunction with other words, 'qui,' for instance, with the subjunctive: with 'quum' also with the subjunctive, as in this passage. It is very difficult to render such a word, simply because by itself it has no exact meaning. It seems to mean here, "since in a manner," &c., or the like. Comp. Cic. Ad Att. x. 3, 'quippe quum.'

vidimus quodam modo diligamus. Quis est qui C. Fabricii, M'. Curii non cum caritate aliqua et benevolentia memoriam usurpet, quos nunquam viderit? Quis autem est qui Tarquinium Superbum, qui Sp. Cassium, Sp. Maelium non oderit? Cum duobus ducibus de imperio in Italia decertatum est, Pyrrho et Annibale. Ab altero propter probitatem ejus non nimis alienos animos habemus; alterum propter crudelitatem semper haec civitas oderit.

IX. 29. Quod si tanta vis probitatis est ut eam vel in eis quos nunquam vidimus, vel, quod majus est, in hoste etiam diligamus, quid mirum est si animi hominum moveantur, quum eorum quibuscum usu conjuncti esse possunt virtutem et bonitatem perspicere videantur? Quamquam confirmatur amor et beneficio accepto et studio perspecto et consuetudine adjuncta; quibus rebus ad illum primum motum animi et amoris adhibitis admirabilis quaedam exardescit benevolentiae magnitudo: quam si qui putant ab imbecillitate proficisci, ut sit per quem assequatur quod quisque desideret, humilem sane relinquunt et minime

*Caritate aliqua*, &c.] Seyffert reads 'caritate aliqua benevola,' which he says is the reading of the best MSS. Madvig has 'caritate aliqua benevolentiae.'

*Quos nunquam viderit?*] This does not mean "whom he never saw:" it means "though or if he never saw them." It affirms nothing as to seeing or not seeing. What the first part of the sentence affirms is true of those who had seen as well as those who had not seen these two men. The clause 'quos—viderit' is a subjunctive, because the form of the sentence, 'quis est,' &c., shows that a direct affirmation is not intended. The expression in c. 8, '*eos quos nunquam vidimus*,' and the same in c. 9, is intended to affirm the fact of not having seen, for the form 'eos quos,' &c. is definite.

*Pyrrho*, &c.] The Romans of Cicero's time treated the memory of this adventurous king better than that of Annibal, partly perhaps because the remembrance of him was not so fresh. They could not forget what they suffered from Annibal. An instance of Annibal's generosity to a fallen enemy is cited in the notes, De Sen. c. 20.

9. *Conjuncti esse possunt*] 'Possint' the reading of some MSS. I now think that 'possunt' is the true reading, which Orelli and Seyffert have.

generosum, ut ita dicam, ortum amicitiae quam ex inopia atque indigentia natam volunt. Quod si ita esset, ut quisque minimum in se esse arbitraretur, ita ad amicitiam esset aptissimus: quod longe secus est. 30. Ut enim quisque sibi plurimum confidit, et ut quisque maxime virtute et sapientia sic munitus est ut nullo egeat suaque omnia in se ipso posita judicet, ita in amicitiis expetendis colendisque maxime excellit. Quid enim? Africanus indigens mei? Minime hercle: ac ne ego quidem illius; sed ego admiratione quadam virtutis ejus, ille vicissim opinione fortasse nonnulla quam de meis moribus habebat me dilexit; auxit benevolentiam consuetudo. Sed quamquam utilitates multae et magnae consecutae sunt, non sunt tamen ab earum spe causae diligendi profectae. 31. Ut enim benefici liberalesque sumus non ut exigamus gratiam, neque enim beneficium feneramur, sed natura propensi ad liberalitatem sumus; sic amicitiam non spe mercedis adducti, sed quod omnis ejus fructus in ipso amore inest, expetendam putamus. 32. At ii qui pecudum ritu ad voluptatem omnia referunt, longe dissentiunt: nec mirum. Nihil enim altum, nihil magnificum ac divinum suspicere possunt, qui suas omnes cogitationes abjecerunt in rem tam humilem tamque contemptam.

*Quod si ita esset,* &c.] This and what follows is a complete answer to the assumed selfish origin of love or friendship.

*Quid enim,*] Seyffert writes 'Quid enim?' &c. I have added a comma after 'enim,' to prevent mistake, for Seyffert correctly observes that the question does not mean 'in what respect does Africanus want my aid?' The answer 'Minime hercle' shows that this *would not be* the right interpretation. But still I do not put the ? after 'enim.' The formula 'Quid enim' is merely the remnant of another and more complete expression, which the Romans of Cicero's time used as introductory to a question, without regarding the grammatical propriety.

*Exigamus*] 'We are not liberal for the purpose of demanding a return.' 'Exigamus' introduces 'feneramur;' for 'exigere' means to get in our debts: "nomina sua exegisse" (Verr. ii. 1, c. 10): "reliqua vendidit, pecuniam exegit" (Verr. ii. 1, c. 36).

Quamobrem hos quidem ab hoc sermone removeamus: ipsi autem intelligamus natura gigni sensum diligendi et benevolentiae caritatem facta significatione probitatis; quam qui appetiverunt applicant sese et propius admovent ut et usu ejus quem diligere coeperunt fruantur et moribus, sintque pares in amore et aequales, propensioresque ad bene merendum quam ad reposcendum. Atque haec inter eos fit honesta certatio. Sic et utilitates ex amicitia maximae capientur, et erit ejus ortus a natura quam ab imbecillitate et gravior et verior. Nam si utilitas amicitias conglutinaret, eadem commutata dissolveret. Sed quia natura mutari non potest, idcirco verae amicitiae sempiternae sunt. Ortum quidem amicitiae videtis, nisi quid ad haec forte vultis. FANN. Tu vero perge, Laeli. Pro hoc enim qui minor est natu meo jure respondeo. 33. SCAEV. Recte tu quidem. Quamobrem audiamus.

X. LAEL. Audite ergo, optimi viri, ea quae saepissime inter me et Scipionem de amicitia disserebantur: quamquam ille quidem nihil difficilius esse dicebat quam amicitiam usque ad extremum vitae permanere. Nam vel ut non idem expediret incidere saepe, vel ut de re publica non idem sentiretur: mutari etiam mores hominum saepe dicebat, alias adversis rebus, alias aetate ingravescente. Atque earum rerum exemplum ex similitudine capiebat ineuntis aetatis, quod summi puerorum amores saepe una cum praetexta toga ponerentur: 34. sin autem ad ado-

*Ad haec*] 'Unless you have some objection to make to what I have said.' There is a reading 'adhuc,' which would not suit the sense.

*Meo jure*] He explains his meaning by saying that he is the elder, and therefore may properly (meo jure) answer for the younger. Cicero has also '*pro meo jure*' (*De Or. ii. 72*), and '*pro suo jure*' (Verr. ii. 5, c. i.); and Terence (Ad. i. 1, 26):

"non necesse habeo omnia
Pro meo jure agere."

10. *Praetexta*] The dress with a broad purple band or hem, which marked the condition of 'pueritia.' The 'praetexta' was said 'poni,' and the 'toga virilis' was said 'sumi' (De Am. c. 1). Orelli

lescentiam perduxissent, dirimi tamen interdum contentione vel uxoriae conditionis, vel commodi alicujus quod idem adipisci uterque non posset. Quod si qui longius in amicitia provecti essent, tamen saepe labefactari si in honoris contentionem incidissent: pestem enim nullam majorem esse in amicitiis quam in plerisque pecuniae cupiditatem, in optimis quibusque honoris certamen et gloriae; ex quo inimicitias maximas saepe inter amicissimos exstitisse. 35. Magna etiam discidia et plerumque justa nasci, quum aliquid ab amicis quod rectum non esset postularetur, ut aut libidinis ministri aut adjutores essent ad injuriam. Quod qui recusarent, quamvis honeste id facerent, jus tamen amicitiae deserere arguerentur ab iis quibus obsequi nollent; illos autem, qui quidvis ab amico auderent postulare, postulatione ipsa profiteri omnia se amici causa esse facturos: eorum querela inveteratas non modo familiaritates exstingui solere, sed etiam odia gigni sempiterna. Haec ita multa quasi fata impendere amicitiis ut omnia subterfugere non modo sapientiae sed etiam felicitatis diceret sibi videri.

XI. 36. Quamobrem id primum videamus, si placet, quatenus amor in amicitia progredi debeat. Num, si

omits 'toga,' though the best MSS. have it. It is true that 'toga' is often omitted when 'praetexta' is used.

*Uxoriae*] All the MSS. seem to have 'luxuriae,' which Manutius tries to explain; but it is an obvious error, and has originated in the 'l' of the preceding word. Turnebus corrected the error. The "contentio uxoriae conditionis" is the rivalry in a matrimonial affair. 'Conditio' itself may be used to signify a marriage affair, where the *context makes it clear what kind of a 'conditio' or 'terms of agreement' are intended* (Liv. iii. 45; Terence, Phorm. iv. 1, 3). But there would be no meaning here unless the 'conditio,' about which the contest was, were explained. The matter is a woman for wife, and the dispute is who shall have her.

*Honoris contentionem*] 'Honor' has its Roman sense. 'Honoris contentio' means rivalry in ambition, in seeking the 'honores' of the state. Cicero also says, 'honorum contentio' (De Off. i. 25).

*Felicitatis*] 'Felicitas' is good fortune. Sulla called himself 'Felix,' the fortunate (εὐτυχής).

11. Num, si] Seyffert has 'Num-

iolanus habuit amicos, ferre contra patriam arma illi . Coriolano debuerunt? Num Viscellinum amici reg- ı appetentem, num Sp. Maelium debuerunt juvare? Ti. quidem Gracchum rem publicam vexantem a Tuberone aequalibusque amicis derelictum videbamus. C. Blossius, Cumanus, hospes familiae vestrae, Scae- , quum ad me quod aderam Laenati et Rupilio con- bus in consilio deprecatum venisset, hanc ut sibi scerem causam afferebat, quod tanti Ti. Gracchum sset ut quidquid ille vellet sibi faciendum putaret. ı ego, Etiamne si te in Capitolium faces ferre vellet? ıquam, inquit, voluisset id quidem. Sed, si voluisset? aruissem." Videtis quam nefaria vox. Et hercle ita ; vel plus etiam quam dixit; non enim paruit ille Gracchi temeritati sed praefuit, nec se comitem illius ris sed ducem praebuit. Itaque hac amentia, quaes- e nova perterritus, in Asiam profugit, ad hostes se

;' and he says, "the form nne' is now restored in several ges of Cicero out of the best ., and there is no doubt about

*scellinum*] Sp. Cassius Vis- us, whose alleged designs death are told by Livy (ii. and those of Sp. Maelius (iv. See De Am. c. 8. The story berius Gracchus, and of his l C. Blossius, is told by Plu- in his Life of Tiberius Grac- who may have had this pas- of Cicero, as well as others, e him.

*leram — in consilio*] This 'adesse' is the usual word in and like cases. See De Am. 'Adesse alicui in consilio' s to be present at a delibera- and hence 'consilium' is also to *express such a body* of per- *summoned for* any delibera- tion. We have such expressions as "de consilii sententia," pursuant to the opinion of a consilium. 'Quod aderam' is Seyffert's reading from the best MSS., as he says. Orelli, who has 'qui aderam,' does not mention the reading 'quod,' which may mean, as Seyffert says, 'because I was one of the advisers,' and that Blossius came to him privately to ask him to intercede for him. 'Qui aderam' would express the fact of Laelius being 'in consilio,' and perhaps we ought to conclude from it that he was then with the consuls. But 'ad me' shows that it was not so.

*Sed, si voluisset? "Paruissem."*] This is, perhaps, a better pointing than the usual one, "sed si voluisset, paruissem;" which Seyffert has; but he may be right.

*Quaestione*] 'Quaestio' was originally the name for an extraor-

contulit, poenas rei publicae graves justasque persolvit. Nulla est igitur excusatio peccati si amici causa peccaveris; nam quum conciliatrix amicitiae virtutis opinio fuerit, difficile est amicitiam manere si a virtute defeceris. 38. Quod si rectum statuerimus vel concedere amicis quidquid velint vel impetrare ab iis quidquid velimus, perfecta quidem sapientia simus, si nihil habeat res vitii: sed loquimur de iis amicis qui ante oculos sunt, quos vidimus aut de quibus memoriam accepimus, quos novit vita communis. Ex hoc numero nobis exempla sumenda sunt, et eorum quidem maxime qui ad sapientiam proxime accedunt. 39. Videmus Papum Aemilium C. Luscino familiarem fuisse, (sic a patribus accepimus,) bis una consules, collegas in censura: tum et cum iis et inter se conjunctissimos fuisse M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium memoriae proditum est. Igitur ne suspicari quidem possumus quemquam horum ab amico quidpiam contendisse quod contra fidem, contra jusjurandum, contra rem publicam esset. Nam hoc quidem in talibus viris quid attinet dicere, si contendisset, impetraturum non fuisse, quum illi sanctissimi viri fuerint, aeque autem nefas sit tale aliquid et facere rogatum et rogare? At vero Ti. Gracchum sequebantur C. Carbo, C. Cato, et minime tunc quidem Caius frater, nunc idem acerrimus.

dinary commission to inquire into great crimes or offences against the State. Blossius, it seems, dreaded a fresh 'quaestio,' which implies that he had not been convicted in the first. C. Blossius of Cumae may have been of Greek stock. He was a student of philosophy, and the Scaevolae were his friends and patroni at Rome. He encouraged Ti. Gracchus in his reforms. *His story is told* by Plutarch (*Ti. Gracch. c. 20*).

*Sap. simus, si*] 'Sapientia si simus, nihil habeat,' &c.: Madvig.

*Papum*] His name was Q. Aemilius Papus, but Laelius puts the cognomen first, and omits the praenomen; which became a common practice at a later period.

*Nunc idem acerrimus.*] Laelius is speaking as a contemporary. Immediately after the death of Ti. Gracchus, his brother Caius kept quiet, as Plutarch says. At the time of the death of Scipio (B.C. 129), in which year the dialogue is supposed to have taken place.

XII. 40. Haec igitur lex in amicitia sanciatur ut neque rogemus res turpes nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim excusatio est et minime accipienda, quum in ceteris peccatis, tum si quis contra rem publicam se amici causa fecisse fateatur. Etenim eo loco, Fanni et Scaevola, locati sumus ut nos longe prospicere oporteat futuros casus rei publicae. Deflexit jam aliquantulum de spatio curriculoque consuetudo majorum. Ti. Gracchus regnum occupare conatus est, vel regnavit is quidem paucos menses. 41. Num quid simile populus Romanus audierat aut viderat? Hunc etiam post mortem secuti amici et propinqui quid in

Caius was one of the commissioners for the division of land, under his brother's agrarian law, and Scipio's opposition to the execution of the law was probably the cause of his death. Carbo was suspected of the murder. Klotz pronounces the end of this sentence 'et minime . . . acerrimus' to be repugnant 'rationi grammaticae et omni sensui humano;' and then he spoils it under pretence of mending it by pointing it thus, 'frater: nunc idem' &c.; as if we should supply 'est.' The sense is plain: 'Caius did not follow his brother's party then, though he is now the most active.' There is still a difficulty about the 'et.' Madvig observes that when Cicero enumerates three or more things, he either places them together, without conjunctions, or he repeats the conjunctions, or he connects the last word with the rest by 'que.' The instance in c. 3 'sociis et Latinis' is not an exception to this rule, for 'sociis et Latinis' is one term. In this passage therefore Seyffert would write 'C. Carbo et C. Cato, minime tunc,' &c.; and one MS. has '*et C. Cato.*'

12. *Lex—sanciatur*] Cicero is using the technical words of legislation, which he applies to the terms which should be observed in friendship. 'Sancire legem' is not simply to make a law; it is to insert in it that which gives to the law its efficacy, some penalty or consequence which follows its violation, or non-observance. In the Institutiones of Justinian (ii. tit. 1, s. 10) it is said: "ideo et legum eas partes quibus poenas constituimus adversos eos qui contra leges fecerint sanctiones vocamus." (Inst. ed. Schrader.) Compare Cicero, Pro Balbo, 14; De Legg. ii. 6, 7.

*Vel regnavit is*] The conduct of Tiberius in depriving M. Octavius of the tribuneship was a violent measure; but to use the term 'regnavit' is an historical falsification, if we take it in a literal sense. Cicero, in the early part of his life, spoke in very different terms of the Gracchi. When he delivered his oration against Rullus (ii. 5), just after he had been elevated to the consulship by the favour of the people, he spoke of the Gracchi and their designs in terms of approbation.

P. Scipione effecerint sine lacrimis non queo dicere. Nam Carbonem quoquo modo potuimus propter recentem poenam Ti. Gracchi sustinuimus. De C. autem Gracchi tribunatu quid exspectem non libet augurari. Serpit deinde res, quae proclivius ad perniciem quum semel coepit labitur. Videtis in tabella jam ante quanta facta

*In P. Scipione*] P. Scipio Nasica is meant, and some MSS. have Nasica, or Nasicam. Nasica, who was Pontifex Maximus, led the Senatorian party in the affray, which ended with the death of Ti. Gracchus, B.C. 133. The Senate afterwards sent him into Asia on a mission, to be out of the way of the popular indignation, and he died there. (Plut. Life of Tib. Gracchus.)

*Nam Carbonem*] C. Papirius Carbo, a friend of Ti. Gracchus, was tribunus plebis in B.C. 131, two years after the death of Ti. Gracchus; and Laelius seems to be alluding to his tribuneship, as we may infer from the next sentence. The word 'nam' must be explained as in c. 27, note. It does not refer to what precedes, but to what follows: "Now Carbo we have put up with as we could on account of the recent punishment inflicted on Ti. Gracchus; but as to the tribunate of C. Gracchus, I do not like to conjecture what we have to expect." He means to say that they could not venture to treat Carbo in the same way as Ti. Gracchus, so soon after the death of Gracchus.

*De C. autem Gracchi*] C. Gracchus was not tribune until in B.C. 123, and accordingly Laelius, who is represented as saying this in B.C. 129, must refer to his supposed design to obtain the tribuneship. But his character was already well known.

*Tabella — labes,*] The word 'labes' is explained by 'labitur.' 'Labes' is 'a falling,' 'a giving way of the earth' (De Divin. i. 35); other senses are secondary meanings. The word 'tabella' refers to the 'tabellariae leges,' or the enactments respecting secret voting, voting by a 'tabella' or 'ballot.' The first 'lex' was the Gabinia, B.C. 139, which established the vote by ballot in the election of magistrates; and Cicero (In Rullum, ii. 2, delivered B.C. 63) calls this 'lex' "vindex tacitae libertatis." He had changed his opinion now. The Cassia Lex (B.C. 137) established the vote by ballot in the Judicia Populi, or trials in the Comitia, as most critics now explain it. Laelius does not mention the Papiria Lex, which established the use of ballot in the voting for or against a law; and yet B.C. 131, the year of Carbo's tribunate, is the date assigned to this Lex. But Laelius says 'jam ante,' and not simply 'jam;' and it is difficult to see what 'jam ante' means, unless he is tacitly referring to some other Tabellaria Lex, either enacted or proposed. He has tacitly referred to the tribunate of Carbo, and consequently to what was done in the tribunate. The whole of this passage, 'Deinde,' &c. presents great difficulties. Seyffert has a long note on it. 'Serpit deinde' seems to mean, "in the next place a matter is im-

sit labes, primo Gabinia lege, biennio autem post Cassia. Videre jam videor populum a senatu disjunctum, multitudinis arbitrio res maximas agi. Plures enim discent quemadmodum haec fiant quam quemadmodum his resistatur. 42. Quorsum haec? Quia sine sociis nemo quidquam tale conatur. Praecipiendum est igitur bonis ut, si in ejusmodi amicitias ignari casu aliquo inciderint, ne existiment ita se alligatos ut ab amicis in re publica peccantibus non discedant: improbis autem poena statuenda est; nec vero minor iis qui secuti erunt alterum, quam iis qui ipsi fuerint impietatis duces. Quis clarior in Graecia Themistocle? quis potentior? qui quum imperator bello Persico servitute Graeciam liberasset, propterque invidiam in exsilium expulsus esset, ingratae patriae injuriam non tulit quam ferre debuit. Fecit idem quod xx annis ante apud nos fecerat Coriolanus. His adjutor contra patriam inventus est nemo: itaque mortem sibi uterque conscivit. 43. Quare talis improborum consensio non modo excusatione amicitiae tegenda non est, sed potius supplicio omni vindicanda, ut ne quis [sibi] concessum putet amicum vel bellum patriae inferentem sequi. Quod quidem, ut res ire coepit, haud scio an aliquando futurum sit. Mihi autem non minori curae est qualis res publica post mortem meam futura sit quam qualis hodie sit.

XIII. 44. Haec igitur prima lex amicitiae sanciatur ut

perceptibly making its way," &c.; and he explains himself by referring to the 'Leges Tabellariae.' The expected tribuneship of C. Gracchus was a danger; and there was another equally threatening, the consequence of the 'Tabellariae Leges.'

*In re publica*] Seyffert has 'in magnam aliquam rem publicam.' The text *is very uncertain*, as the *readings show.*

*In exsilium*] His story, and his inglorious end, are told by Plutarch (Life of Themistocles) and Thucydides, i. 136, &c.—Orelli has 'in exsilium isset.'

*Coriolanus.*] If Cicero's twenty years refer to the exile of Themistocles and Coriolanus respectively, we see what date he assigns to the banishment of Coriolanus, for Themistocles was banished in B.C. 471.

ab amicis honesta petamus, amicorum causa honesta faciamus; ne exspectemus quidem dum rogemur; studium semper adsit, cunctatio absit: consilium vero dare audeamus libere; plurimum in amicitia amicorum bene suadentium valeat auctoritas, eaque et adhibeatur ad monendum non modo aperte sed etiam acriter, si res postulabit, et adhibitae pareatur. 45. Nam quibusdam, quos audio sapientes habitos in Graecia, placuisse opinor mirabilia quaedam: sed nihil est quod illi non persequantur suis argutiis: partim fugiendas esse nimias amicitias ne necesse sit unum sollicitum esse pro pluribus: satis superque esse suarum cuique rerum, alienis nimis implicari molestum esse; commodissimum esse quam laxissimas habenas habere amicitiae, quas vel adducas quum velis vel remittas; caput enim esse ad beate vivendum securitatem qua frui non possit animus, si tamquam parturiat unus pro pluribus. 46. Alios autem dicere aiunt multo etiam inhumanius, quem locum breviter perstrinxi paullo ante, praesidii adjumentique causa, non benevolentiae neque caritatis, amicitias esse expetendas; itaque ut quisque minimum firmitatis habeat minimumque virium, ita amicitias appetere maxime:

13. *Partim fugiendas*, &c.] The resemblance between this passage and one in Euripides (Hippolytus, v. 252), seems to show that Cicero must have had it in his mind, for he was familiar with the plays of Euripides. It is one of these 'argutiae,' or subtleties, of which many examples occur in this dramatist.

*χρῆν γὰρ μετρίας εἰς ἀλλήλους*
*φιλίας θνατοὺς ἀνακίρνασθαι*, &c.

Some critics suppose that Euripides is here using a Socratic irony. Hardly so, I think. Seyffert has '*argumentis' in* place of 'suis *argutiis.' Madvig* has 'argutiis' *simply.*

*Caput*] Cicero says (De Or. ii. 82): "ad consilium de re publica dandum caput est nosse rem publicam." 'Caput' means 'the chief thing.'

Seyffert observes that Cicero uses 'securitas' both to express the *εὐθυμία* of Democritus, the *ἀπάθεια* of the Stoics, and the *ἡδονή* of Epicurus. He says (De Fin. v. 8): "Democriti securitas, quae est animi tanquam tranquillitas, quam appellavit *εὐθυμίαν*."

*Habeat*] Seyffert has 'haberet' from the best MSS., as he says. He considers the 'dicere' in 'dicere aiunt,' as a present perfect, and that it ought properly to be 'dixisse;' but 'dicere' is used,

ex eo fieri ut mulierculae magis amicitiarum praesidia quaerant quam viri, et inopes quam opulenti, et calamitosi quam ii qui putantur beati. 47. O praeclaram sapientiam! Solem enim e mundo tollere videntur qui amicitiam e vita tollunt, qua nihil a Diis immortalibus melius habemus, nihil jucundius. Quae est enim ista securitas? Specie quidem blanda, sed reapse multis locis repudianda. Neque enim est consentaneum ullam honestam rem actionemve, ne sollicitus sis, aut non suscipere aut susceptam deponere. Quod si curam fugimus, virtus fugienda est, quae

because the expressed opinion is extant, being recorded in writing. He adds that it is generally supposed that the present in the dependent clause expresses a general judgment, and the imperfect a particular judgment with reference to the past; and he admits that this may be necessarily true in the second case, but that the first also is correctly and frequently expressed by the imperfect.

*Mulierculae*] The Romans use this diminutive to express the feebleness and the inferiority of women. 'Mulieres' alone, as contrasted with 'viri,' would have expressed this; but he goes further by using a diminutive form. Comp. "in unius mulierculae anima" (Ep. Lib. ii. 12).—'Putantur beati:' Seyffert has 'putentur.' Orelli cites examples of such forms as 'ii qui beati putantur,' as if it were a form of expression that required confirmation. Either 'putantur' or 'putentur' is Latin, but it is not easy to say which Cicero wrote. 'Putentur' is the true reading, if these are the words of the 'Alios.'

*Tollere videntur*] This should be translated "must be considered to be doing the same as if," &c. 'Videntur' implies no doubt. It is the usual formula for expressing the general opinion, as we see in the responsa of the Roman lawyers, who use the term not to express that such or such an opinion may be so, but that it is the received opinion.

*Reapse*] This is 're ipsa,' and either a mere euphonical variation, or the addition of 'apse' or 'pse,' equivalent to 'ipse,' but without any case ending. There is 'eampse,' and the word 'siremps' which occurs in an inscription in Frontinus (De Aquaeductibus) as a nominative case. Cicero (De Re Publ. iii. 8) has 'sepse,' equivalent to 'se ipsa.' This form 'sepse' is mentioned by Seneca (Ep. 108). 'Multis locis,' for many reasons.

*Quod si curam fugimus,*] There is more in the argument than a careless reader may see. If we make the pursuit of happiness our direct object, so far as we can, it is consistent with the doctrine to avoid all that shall give us trouble or uneasiness. I do not say that the theory necessarily must be so expounded, or that it is so expounded by those who expound it best; but the vulgar and the practical exposition will be this. But if we found our lives on the prin-

necesse est cum aliqua cura res sibi contrarias aspernetur atque oderit, ut bonitas malitiam, temperantia libidinem, ignaviam fortitudo. Itaque videas rebus injustis justos maxime dolere, imbellibus fortes, flagitiosis modestos. Ergo hoc proprium est animi bene constituti et laetari bonis rebus et dolere contrariis. 48. Quamobrem si cadit in sapientem animi dolor, qui profecto cadit, nisi ex ejus animo exstirpatam humanitatem arbitramur, quae causa est cur amicitiam funditus tollamus e vita, ne aliquas propter eam suscipiamus molestias? Quid enim interest, motu animi sublato, non dico inter hominem et pecudem, sed inter hominem et saxum aut truncum aut quidvis generis ejusdem? Neque enim sunt isti audiendi qui virtutem duram et quasi ferream esse quandam volunt, quae quidem est quum multis in rebus tum in amicitia tenera atque tractabilis, ut et bonis amici quasi diffundatur et incommodis contrahatur. Quamobrem angor iste qui pro amico saepe capiendus est non tantum valet ut tollat e vita amicitiam, non plus quam ut virtutes, quia nonnullas curas et molestias afferunt, repudientur.

XIV. Quum autem contrahat amicitiam, ut supra dixi,

ciple of absolute obedience to fixed rules of life, the question of avoiding pain, trouble, or even death, will not arise when the rule of duty is positive. We obey the rule absolutely.

*Humanitatem*] 'Humanitas' here means the natural feelings and affections, part of a man's nature.

*Ferream esse quandam*] I have followed Seyffert in this order. The common order is 'ferream quandam esse.' Orelli has '*ferream quandam* volunt.'

*Diffundatur, &c.*] 'Diffundantur . . . *contrahantur*:' Seyffert, who *affirms that* all the MSS. have the plural, except one of Manutius. Madvig has 'diffundatur . . . contrahatur.' Seyffert admits that 'amici' is the genitive, as it undoubtedly is. He conjectures that 'animi' has been omitted after 'amici.' It seems that 'virtus' is the nominative: 'virtus' is not 'dura,' &c., but 'tenera,' 'tractabilis,' 'ut,' &c. If the plurals 'diffundantur . . . contrahantur' are genuine, we must suppose that there is some corruption in the other part of the sentence.

14. *Quum—contrahat*] In the first edition I remarked that 'animus' seemed to be the nominative

si qua significatio virtutis eluceat ad quam se similis animus applicet et adjungat, id quum contingit, amor exoriatur necesse est. 49. Quid enim tam absurdum quam delectari multis inanibus rebus, ut honore, ut gloria, ut aedificio, ut vestitu cultuque corporis, animo autem virtute praedito eo qui vel amare, vel, ut ita dicam, redamare possit, non admodum delectari? Nihil est enim remuneratione benevolentiae, nihil vicissitudine studiorum officiorumque jucundius. 50. Quod si illud etiam addimus, quod recte addi potest, nihil esse quod ad se rem ullam tam alliciat et tam attrahat quam ad amicitiam similitudo, concedetur profecto verum esse ut bonos boni diligant adsciscantque sibi quasi propinquitate conjunctos atque natura. Nihil est enim appetentius similium sui, nihil rapacius, quam natura. Quamobrem hoc quidem, Fanni et Scaevola, constat, ut opinor, bonis inter bonos quasi necessariam benevolentiam, qui est amicitiae fons a natura constitutus. Sed eadem bonitas etiam ad multitudinem pertinet. Non est enim inhumana virtus neque immunis neque superba,

to 'contrahat.' Some MSS. and old editions have 'contrahat virtus.' I am reminded by a former pupil, Mr. J. G. Carey, that the sentence "si qua significatio virtutis eluceat" is the nominative to 'contrahat;' and this is Seyffert's opinion also. There are several like examples, but the nearest is the following (De Or. ii. 51): "plus proficit si proponitur spes utilitatis futurae quam praeteriti beneficii commemoratio;" where the nominative to 'plus proficit' is 'si proponitur,' &c. The words 'ut supra dixi' seem to me to have no meaning, if Seyffert's explanation is accepted. I am inclined to think that the text is defective.

*Redamare*] In this word, and 'redeo,' and others, the 'd' is not inserted by 'epenthesis,' or any other grammatical fiction. The word is 'red,' and the 'd' is dropped before some consonants, as in 'reperio,' &c.

*Quod si*] Seyffert has 'Quid? si illud etiam,' which he says is the reading of the best MSS.; and if that is so, we ought to have that reading.—'Nihil rapacius:' 'nec rapacius,' Seyff., who prefers 'nec' because the ideas 'appetentius' and 'rapacius' are essentially different, 'appetentius' expressing the desire, and 'rapacius' the power to seize on the object of desire.

*Virtus—quae—soleat;*] Seyffert explains the subjunctive 'soleat,' by saying that it was the author's object to indicate the

quae etiam populos universos tueri eisque optime consulere soleat; quod non faceret profecto, si a caritate vulgi abhorreret. 51. Atque etiam mihi quidem videntur, qui utilitatis causa fingunt amicitias, amabilissimum nodum amicitiae tollere. Non enim tam utilitas parta per amicum quam amici amor ipse delectat; tumque illud fit, quod ab amico est profectum, jucundum, si cum studio est profectum; tantumque abest ut amicitiae propter indigentiam colantur, ut ii qui opibus et copiis maximeque virtute praediti, in qua plurimum est praesidii, minime

predicate of 'virtus,' not as an accidental thing, but as a fact determined by an inward necessity; so that 'quae soleat,' &c. signifies, 'in whose nature it lies, that it is wont.' If 'quae soleat' is the true reading, we must determine the meaning of this subjunctive by the usage of Cicero. He might have said "virtus quae populos universos . . . solet, non est inhumana;" but he would not have said the same thing. If the direct form is used, there are two direct predications of 'virtus;' first, that 'virtus tueri solet,' and next, that it is not 'inhumana;' and though these two propositions are independent, the mind of the speaker and of the hearer views them in a logical connexion, of which the 'non inhumana' is a conclusion. But Cicero means something else; which he shows, first, by postponing the clause 'quae etiam populos;' for the position of this clause has an effect on the meaning; and, secondly, by adopting a form which is not the direct affirmation. The meaning of the whole is this—For *virtue* is not opposed to the natural *affections, does* not refuse to *discharge its duties*, and is not *high-minded, if* we can say that it protects whole peoples and provides best for their interest, which in truth it would not do, if it were devoid of affection to mankind in general.—He had laid down the position, 'eadem bonitas ad multitudinem pertinet;' and that is the foundation of the argument in this sentence; for virtue is not 'inhumana,' if that be true; and he again affirms by implication that it is true, "quod non faceret, &c." Seyffert's explanation of the 'quae soleat' may agree with mine. But he writes 'Non enim est,' &c., and translates 'sed eadem bonitas,' &c. thus: "But this moral goodness, so to say, extends itself also to the many; for a virtue, hostile to mankind, unwilling to do a service, and arrogant, there is not."

*Immunis*] Not 'immanis.' Ernesti's reading 'immanis' may seem to be recommended by the word 'superba,' which follows; but 'immunis' is recommended by 'inhumana,' for virtue is not inconsistent with the natural affections; nor a thing that refuses to discharge its duties, nor high-minded. 'Virtus' must be 'communis' (De Am. c. 18, "communem et consentientem"), not 'immunis.'

alterius indigeant, liberalissimi sint et beneficentissimi. Atque haud scio an ne opus sit quidem nihil unquam omnino deesse amicis. Ubi enim studia nostra viguissent, si nunquam consilio, nunquam opera nostra nec domi nec militiae Scipio eguisset? Non igitur utilitatem amicitia, sed utilitas amicitiam consecuta est.

XV. 52. Non ergo erunt homines deliciis diffluentes audiendi, si quando de amicitia quam nec usu nec ratione habent cognitam disputabunt. Nam quis est, pro Deum fidem atque hominum, qui velit, ut neque diligat quemquam nec ipse ab ullo diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis atque in omnium rerum abundantia vivere? Haec enim est tyrannorum vita, in qua nimirum nulla fides, nulla caritas, nulla stabilis benevolentiae potest esse fidu-

*Atque haud scio*, &c.] There is a reading 'sciam,' which Seyffert has; and if it is right, there ought to be some difference in meaning between the indicative and the subjunctive. Cicero admits that the discharge of mutual offices may be a necessary thing in friendship; for if the occasions did not arise, there would hardly be room for the exercise of friendship. But interest is not the origin of friendship; it follows it. The sentence is confused, owing to the negatives. "Haud scio an" seems to mean "I am not sure if it be not even fitting that friends should have all their wants supplied by one another; and that this may happen, occasions must arise, they must feel wants (egere)." If, instead of expressing himself thus, he had said, "that it is, perhaps, even necessary that friends should feel the want of mutual help, and have their wants mutually supplied, for otherwise friendship would hardly have matter *to exercise itself* on," he *would seem to us to* have spoken more clearly. Seyffert has explained this passage correctly, I believe, if I understand him right. He says, "Those who are most sufficient in themselves (αὐταρκέστατοι) are most disposed to friendship." (From this it might be concluded that this state of sufficiency in oneself would be very desirable: but he meets this notion with the words 'haud sciam,' &c.) "But further, an unconditioned or absolute sufficiency in oneself is not even a good thing for friendship, because 'indigentia ad confirmandum amorem plurimum valet,' and is the very thing that gives the friend an opportunity of proving his love."

15. *Qui velit, ut*] This may be rendered "who is there who would choose on the condition of neither loving nor being loved?" &c. where 'ut' may be considered to express 'terms' or 'conditions.' But the sentence is only another form of a more common expression, 'ita circumfluere,' &c. 'ut neque diligat,' &c.—'nimirum, in qua:' Seyff.

cia; omnia semper suspecta atque sollicita, nullus locus amicitiae. 53. Quis enim aut eum diligat quem metuat, aut eum a quo se metui putet? Coluntur tamen simulatione dumtaxat ad tempus. Quod si forte, ut fit plerumque, ceciderint, tum intelligitur quam fuerint inopes amicorum. Quod Tarquinium dixisse ferunt tum exsulantem se intellexisse quos fidos amicos habuisset, quos infidos, quum jam neutris gratiam referre posset. 54. Quamquam miror illa superbia et importunitate si quemquam amicum habere potuit. Atque ut hujus quem dixi

*Metuat,—putet?*] Some MSS. and Ernesti have 'metuit,—putat.' But there is no affirmation of any person being feared. The proposition without the interrogation, is simply this, "nemo est qui diligat quem metuat:" "a man cannot love and fear," "who can love when or if he fears?"

*Dumtaxat*] This strange looking adverb, as it is called, is rightly explained by Priscian to be formed of 'dum' and 'taxat,' a frequentative form from 'tangere.' 'Taxo' means 'to keep touching,' a repetition of the act of touching. It also got the sense of estimating and fixing damages; as in the formula, when a sum was fixed, beyond which the judex must not go in condemning in damages, but he might condemn in less. The formula might be this; 'Judex N.N. A.A. dumtaxat X milia condemna' (Gaius iv. 43); which literally rendered is, "so far as touches ten thousand." The sense of 'taxatio,' in the meaning of 'fixing damages or value,' is manifestly derived from the primitive meaning of 'taxo.' In the following passage (Dig 4, tit. 3, s. 17, § 1) 'dumtaxat' is followed by 'de:' "haec actio in heredem et ceteros successores datur dumtaxat de eo quod ad eos pervenit," this action is allowed against the 'heres' and the other successors only with respect to, so far as, what has come to their hands. The word 'dumtaxat' probably got its ordinary adverbial use long before Cicero's time. It is in the legal formulae that its primary meaning is seen clearest. Seyffert says that 'dumtaxat' in this passage does not qualify 'ad tempus' simply, but 'simulatione ad tempus;' in which he is right.

*Quod Tarquinium—intellexisse quos*] There is a reading 'et quos,' which is properly rejected. 'Quos fidos,' &c. is merely the explanation, or further exposition of the proposition to which 'Quod Tarquinium' refers. "This is what they say that Tarquin said, &c., that he found out who had been faithful friends," &c. Seyffert compares (c. 7) "id si minus intelligitur," that is, "the value of unity," "quanta vis," &c., "the consequences of disunion will show." Cicero might have said, "Quod si minus," &c. For other examples see Verr. Act i. 46, 'Quod vos,' &c.; ii. 2. c. 26, 'Quod nisi ego,' &c.

mores veros amicos parare non potuerunt, sic multorum opes praepotentium excludunt amicitias fideles. Non enim solum ipsa fortuna caeca est, sed eos etiam plerumque efficit caecos quos complexa est. Itaque efferuntur fere fastidio et contumacia, neque quidquam insipiente fortunato intolerabilius fieri potest. Atque hoc quidem videre licet, eos qui antea commodis fuerunt moribus, imperio, potestate, prosperis rebus immutari, sperni ab iis veteres amicitias, indulgeri novis. 55. Quid autem stultius quam, quum plurimum copiis, facultatibus, opibus possint, cetera parare quae parantur pecunia, equos, famulos, vestem egregiam, vasa pretiosa; amicos non parare, optimam et pulcherrimam vitae, ut ita dicam, supellectilem? Etenim cetera quum parant, cui parent nesciunt, nec cujus causa laborent; ejus enim est istorum quidque qui vincit viribus: amicitiarum sua cuique permanet stabilis et certa possessio, ut etiam si illa maneant, quae sunt quasi dona fortunae, tamen vita inculta et deserta ab amicis non possit esse jucunda. Sed haec hactenus.

XVI. 56. Constituendi sunt autem qui sint in amicitia

*Fortuna—immutari,*] Man has always been the same. He who rises to wealth and power forgets his former associates. Wealth and power bring temptations which no man can altogether resist; though some more than others. Pride and arrogance are their natural offspring, that is, it is conformable to human nature, it is a law of human nature that power and wealth will corrupt a man, if their influence is not checked, for it cannot be destroyed. Plutarch, in his Life of Sulla, c. 30, starts the question, "whether fortune really produces an alteration and change in a man's natural disposition, or whether, when he *gets to power*, his bad *qualities hitherto* concealed are merely unveiled." The answer is, the man is merely unveiled; and when men are stripped naked, some are more foul and ugly than others. Aristotle has analyzed this matter in his searching way as usual. Rhet. ii. 16; Eth. Nicom. iv. 8.

*Fuerunt*] 'Fuerint:' Seyffert. We may say either. I prefer 'fuerunt,' the indicative, because I suppose Cicero to intend to say what the indicative expresses.

*Parant, cui parent*] 'Parantur, cui parentur:' Seyffert.—'vicit viribus:' Seyff.

16. *Constituendi sunt autem qui sint*] "We must now determine the limits of friendship," &c. It is difficult to see how those under-

fines et quasi termini diligendi; de quibus tres video sententias ferri quarum nullam probo; unam ut eodem modo erga amicos affecti simus quo erga nosmet ipsos; alteram ut nostra in amicos benevolentia illorum erga nos benevolentiae pariter aequaliterque respondeat; tertiam ut quanti quisque se ipse facit, tanti fiat ab amicis. Harum trium sententiarum nulli prorsus assentior. Nec enim illa prima vera est ut quemadmodum in se quisque, sic in amicum sit animatus. 57. Quam multa enim quae nostri causa nunquam faceremus, facimus causa amicorum; precari ab indigno, supplicare; tum acerbius in aliquem invehi, insectarique vehementius; quae in nostris rebus non satis honeste, in amicorum fiunt honestissime: multaeque res sunt in quibus de suis commodis viri boni multa detrahunt detrahique patiuntur, ut iis amici potius quam ipsi fruantur. 58. Altera sententia est quae definit amicitiam paribus officiis ac voluntatibus. Hoc quidem est nimis exigue et exiliter ad calculos vocare amicitiam, ut par sit ratio acceptorum et datorum. Divitior mihi et affluentior videtur

stand such a passage, who place a comma after 'sunt,' for 'qui sint' &c. is both the subject of the proposition and the nominative to the verb 'sunt.' Seyffert, whose punctuation is not always the best, has no comma after 'sunt:' but he has 'Constituendi autem sunt' &c.

*Illorum erga nos*] A student will hardly misunderstand 'illorum,' or suppose that 'eorum' might stand in its place here, if he has well conceived the sense of 'ille.' See in this chapter "talem esse in eum qualis ille in se est."

*Nostri causa*] Orelli has the reading 'nostra;' but 'nostri,' as Seyffert observes, is opposed to 'amicorum.'

*Ut iis amici*] There is a reading 'his.' 'Hi' and 'ii' are often used indifferently in the MSS., and often may be used indifferently, as when they are immediately followed by 'qui,' as "de his qui" or "de iis qui," &c. as in De Am. 17, "in iis qui in honoribus," &c.

*Ad calculos vocare*] 'Calculus,' a diminutive of 'calx,' is a small pebble, used in the simplest form of reckoning by addition and subtraction. Hence it is a word used in reckoning generally; and "vocare ad calculos" is "to call a man to an account." 'Ratio' is a word of accounts, and the expression is derived from the Roman practice of book-keeping. A good housekeeper always had 'tabulae' or 'codices accepti et expensi.'

esse vera amicitia, nec observare restricte ne plus reddat quam acceperit. Neque enim verendum est ne quid excidat, aut ne quid in terram defluat, aut ne plus aequo in amicitiam congeratur. 59. Tertius vero ille finis deterrimus, ut quanti quisque se ipse faciat, tanti fiat ab amicis. Saepe enim in quibusdam aut animus abjectior est aut spes amplificandae fortunae fractior. Non est igitur amici talem esse in eum qualis ille in se est, sed potius eniti et efficere ut amici jacentem animum excitet inducatque in spem cogitationemque meliorem. Alius igitur finis verae amicitiae constituendus est, si prius quid maxime reprehendere Scipio solitus sit edixero. Negabat ullam vocem inimiciorem amicitiae potuisse reperiri quam ejus qui dixisset, ita amare oportere ut si aliquando esset osurus; nec vero se adduci posse ut hoc, quemadmodum putaretur, a Biante esse dictum crederet, qui sapiens habitus esset unus e septem; impuri cujusdam aut ambitiosi aut omnia ad suam potentiam revocantis esse sententiam. Quonam enim modo quisquam amicus esse poterit ejus cui se putabit

*Plus aequo*] 'Plus aequo quid:' Seyff.

*Biante*] Aristotle (Rhet. ii. 13) attributes this piece of wisdom to Bias, one of the Seven. Aristotle says of those who are somewhat advanced in years, and have passed their prime, that "following the advice of Bias, they love as expecting to hate, and hate as expecting to love." The credit of the maxim is given by Gellius (i. 3) to Chilon. Comp. Sophocles, Ajax v. 662, &c.:

ἡμεῖς δὲ πῶς οὐ γνωσόμεσθα σωφρονεῖν;

*Impuri, &c.*] The word 'impurus' does not denote a kind of person, to whom the 'ambitiosus' and the other *man are opposed; but 'impurus' is a general term* for one who is either 'ambitiosus' or the other thing. 'Impurus' is 'non integer,' mean, sordid. 'Ambitiosus' has its Roman sense: it is a man who seeks the 'honores.' 'Potentia' also has a political meaning. The second kind of person is one who would make every thing serve his own ends, which are power, whether got regularly or irregularly. He would use other people as his tools, a favourite maxim with the political man; who in his turn is often made the tool of his tools.

*Poterit ejus cui*] Orelli omits 'ejus,' which several MSS., and apparently the better, have. But this is not a case in which the word 'is' can be omitted, as Seyffert shows.

inimicum esse posse? Quin etiam necesse erit cupere et optare ut quam saepissime peccet amicus, quo plures det sibi tamquam ansas ad reprehendendum; rursum autem recte factis commodisque amicorum necesse erit angi, dolere, invidere. 60. Quare hoc quidem praeceptum cujuscunque est ad tollendam amicitiam valet. Illud potius praecipiendum fuit, ut eam diligentiam adhiberemus in amicitiis comparandis ut ne quando amare inciperemus eum quem aliquando odisse possemus. Quin etiam si minus felices in deligendo fuissemus, ferendum id Scipio potius quam inimicitiarum tempus cogitandum putabat.

XVII. 61. His igitur finibus utendum arbitror, ut quum emendati mores amicorum sint, tum sit inter eos omnium rerum, consiliorum, voluntatum sine ulla exceptione communitas, ut etiam, si qua fortuna acciderit ut minus justae amicorum voluntates adjuvandae sint in quibus eorum aut caput agatur aut fama, declinandum sit de via, modo ne summa turpitudo sequatur: est enim quatenus amicitiae dari venia possit. Nec vero negligenda est fama, nec mediocre telum ad res gerendas existimare oportet benevolentiam civium, quam blanditiis et assentando colligere turpe est: virtus quam sequitur caritas minime repudianda est. 62. Sed saepe enim redeo ad

17. *His igitur finibus—sequatur:*] Gellius (i. 3) criticizes this passage of Cicero. He says that Theophrastus fully discussed the matter, which is propounded in the first few lines of this chapter; and if his memory does not deceive him, it was in the first book of his treatise on friendship, which he thinks that Cicero had read when he wrote his treatise on friendship. Gellius complains that Cicero's *rule*, 'declinandum sit,' &c. is not *precise. In the* passage of Cicero, *as quoted by* Gellius, the reading *is (ed. Gronov.)* "emendati mores sunt," which gives a different form to the sentence. 'Declinandum de via sit:' Seyff.—'Virtus quam:' 'virtus' does not mean virtue generally, as the context shows. It means those virtues or qualities which gain esteem.

*Sed saepe enim*] Orelli's reading is, "Sed saepe—etenim redeo . . . amicitia—querebatur." There is no doubt that 'saepe' belongs to 'redeo;' and I have therefore followed Seyffert, except that I do not think it necessary to write, "Sed—saepe . . . amicitia—querebatur." It is absurd to suppose

Scipionem cujus omnis sermo erat de amicitia, querebatur quod omnibus in rebus homines diligentiores essent; capras et oves quot quisque haberet dicere posse; amicos quot haberet non posse dicere; et in illis quidem parandis adhibere curam, in amicis eligendis negligentes esse nec habere quasi signa quaedam et notas quibus eos qui ad amicitiam essent idonei judicarent. Sunt igitur firmi et stabiles et constantes eligendi, cujus generis est magna penuria, et judicare difficile est sane nisi expertum; experiendum est autem in ipsa amicitia; ita praecurrit amicitia judicium tollitque experiendi potestatem. 63. Est igitur prudentis sustinere ut currum sic impetum benevolentiae, quo utamur quasi equis tentatis, sic amicitiis, aliqua parte periclitatis moribus amicorum. Quidam saepe in parva pecunia perspiciuntur quam sint leves: quidam, quos parva movere non potuit, cognoscuntur in magna. Sin erunt aliqui reperti qui pecuniam praeferre amicitiae sordidum existiment, ubi eos inveniemus qui honores, magistratus, imperia, potestates, opes amicitiae non anteponant, ut, quum ex altera parte proposita haec sint, ex altera jus amicitiae, non multo illa malint? Imbecilla enim natura est ad contemnendam potentiam, quam etiam si neglecta amicitia consecuti sunt, obscuratum iri arbitran-

that 'sed' is to be disjoined from what immediately follows.

*In parva pecunia*] "In the matter of a small sum of money." See De Am. c. 2. This test is in most cases quite enough; and it can be applied often, and at small cost. The test, 'in magna,' is not of so common application; but, when tried, it seldom fails.

*Honores*, &c.] All these words have been explained except 'potestas.' 'Potestas' is a general term; it is genus, of which 'imperium' is a species. (Paulus, Dig. 50, tit. 16, s. 215.) The Romans said, 'consularis, praetoria potestas;' and this 'potestas' was accompanied with 'imperium.' They also said, 'tribunitia potestas;' but the 'tribuni plebis' had not 'imperium.' See Ad Q. F. c. 10.

*Obscuratum iri*] The meaning is, "Human nature is too weak to despise power, and if men have got it even to the neglect of friendship, they think that their neglect will be veiled, because it was not without a great motive." 'Iri' is the infinitive of 'eo,' and 'obscuratum' (a supine, as it is called) depends upon it just as in the

tur, quia non sine magna causa sit neglecta amicitia. 64. Itaque verae amicitiae difficillime reperiuntur in iis qui in honoribus reque publica versantur. Ubi enim istum invenias qui honorem amici anteponat suo? Quid, haec ut omittam, quam graves, quam difficiles plerisque videntur calamitatum societates, ad quas non est facile inventu qui descendat: quamquam Ennius recte:

Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur:

tamen haec duo levitatis et infirmitatis plerosque convincunt, aut si in bonis rebus contemnunt, aut in malis deserunt.

XVIII. Qui igitur utraque in re gravem, constantem, stabilem se in amicitia praestiterit, hunc ex maxime raro hominum genere judicare debemus et paene divino. 65. Firmamentum autem stabilitatis constantiaeque ejus quam in amicitia quaerimus fides est. Nihil enim stabile est quod infidum. Simplicem praeterea et communem et consentientem qui rebus iisdem moveatur eligi par est; quae omnia pertinent ad fidelitatem. Neque enim fidum potest esse multiplex ingenium et tortuosum; neque vero, qui non iisdem rebus movetur naturaque consentit, aut fidus

phrase 'spectatum eo.' It follows that 'obscuratum' must govern an accusative suppressed, which is, 'neglectam amicitiam,' or perhaps rather the whole of the notion, "the obtaining of power to the neglect of friendship."

18. *Utraque in re*] Both in his own prosperity, and in his friend's adversity.—'Consentientem:' 'consentientem, id est, qui:' Seyff.

*Communem*] There is no difficulty in the translation of this word if we avoid the English word that is derived from it. The adjectives in Latin have often a much *wider signification* than the corresponding English words. We can say, "He must be a man of a simple character, who in all things puts himself on the same footing as others, and has a community of feeling with them;" but we cannot use 'common' as the Romans did, nor have we any other word to express the notion. The Greeks could use κοινός in the same sense as the Romans did 'communis.' The sense of 'communicans,' at the end of chapter 6, contains something of the notion of 'communis' here, and 'communicent' in c. 19. See De Sen. c. 17, and Pro Murena, c. 31.

*Non iisdem—naturaque*] The negation of the 'non' extends to the words 'naturaque consentit.'

aut stabilis potest esse. Addendum eodem est ut ne criminibus aut inferendis delectetur aut credat oblatis, quae omnia pertinent ad eam quam jamdudum tracto constantiam. Ita fit verum illud quod initio dixi, amicitiam nisi inter bonos esse non posse. Est enim boni viri, quem eundem sapientem licet dicere, haec duo tenere in amicitia; primum, ne quid fictum sit neve simulatum: aperte enim vel odisse magis ingenui est quam fronte occultare sententiam: deinde, non solum ab aliquo allatas criminationes repellere, sed ne ipsum quidem esse suspiciosum semper aliquid existimantem ab amico esse violatum. 66. Accedat huc suavitas quaedam oportet sermonum atque morum, haudquaquam mediocre condimentum amicitiae. Tristitia autem et in omni re severitas habet illa quidem gravitatem, sed amicitia remissior esse debet et liberior et dulcior et ad omnem comitatem facilitatemque proclivior.

*Ut ne criminibus*] Compare c. 12, "ut ne quis—putet:" a more positive, distinct expression than the simple 'ne.' 'Ut ne' in fact is equivalent to a command.

*Fronte occultare*, &c.] 'To hide under our countenance our real meaning.' Compare Ad Q. Fr. c. 5, 'Multis enim simulationum,' &c. But as Seyffert shows, 'frons' is not limited to the 'face:' it means 'the outside appearance' of a thing.

*Accedat — suavitas — oportet*] 'Oportet' is used both with the subjunctive, generally without 'ut;' and also with the infinitive. Perhaps 'oportet' is not used with the subjunctive when there is a negative with 'oportet.' Either 'oportet' or 'non oportet' may have the infinitive. Though 'oportet' seems to contain the same element as 'opus' (oper), usage had given the two words different meanings (Cic. Ad Att. xiii. 25).

*Tristitia—illa*] 'Tristitia' is one of a class of words that are very difficult to translate, as all words are that indicate the affections. It means a seriousness of a repulsive kind, which shows itself in the countenance and the manner; something of dissatisfaction with men and things. We have no word for it. 'Severitas' is an earnestness and seriousness in the thoughts and the purpose, which also has its external characteristic, which however is not that of 'tristitia.'

This position of 'illa' is not uncommon; but the meaning is not helped by a comma after 'severitas,' which some place there. See De Am. 19, "Novitates autem, &c., non sunt illae quidem," &c.; and c. 6, "praeclare illi quidem." 'Is quidem' is used in the same way. "Illa quidem" means, "it has indeed;" a kind of concession, followed by a 'but' (sed).

XIX. 67. Exsistit autem hoc loco quaedam quaestio subdifficilis: num quando amici novi, digni amicitia, veteribus sint anteponendi, ut equis vetulis teneros anteponere solemus. Indigna homine dubitatio. Non enim amicitiarum debent esse sicut aliarum rerum satietates. Veterrima quaeque, ut ea vina quae vetustatem ferunt, esse debent suavissima: verumque illud est quod dicitur, multos modios salis simul edendos esse ut amicitiae munus expletum sit. 68. Novitates autem, si spem afferunt ut tamquam in herbis non fallacibus fructus appareat, non sunt illae quidem repudiandae; vetustas tamen suo loco conservanda: maxima est enim vis vetustatis et consuetudinis. Quin ipso equo cujus modo mentionem feci, si nulla res impediat, nemo est qui non eo quo consuevit libentius utatur quam intractato et novo: nec vero in hoc quod est animal, sed in iis etiam quae sunt inanima consuetudo valet; quum locis ipsis delectemur, montuosis etiam et silvestribus, in quibus diutius commorati sumus. 69. Sed maximum est in amicitia [superiorem] parem esse inferiori; saepe enim excellentiae quaedam sunt, qualis erat

19. *Quod dicitur,*] Like 'ut aiunt,' is one of the ways of referring to a proverb: "Many measures of salt must be eaten together, in order that friendship's trial be perfected." People must live together some time before they can be sure that friendship can exist between them. Aristotle (Eth. Nicom. viii. 3) says: "According to the proverb, it is not possible for men to know one another till they have consumed together so much salt, as the saying is." It was a medimnus according to the Eth. Eud. vii. 2; perhaps not too much.

*Quin ipso, &c.*] Or "quin et in ipso," which Seyffert prefers. After 'quin' there was probably a pause, for it signifies 'nay,' or the like, and the reader may put a comma after it if he likes. The sentence begins, "Nay, in the matter of the horse which I just now mentioned;" but instead of continuing thus, 'libentius utimur,' the form of the sentence is altered, and rendered more emphatic, by a new beginning, "nemo est qui non," &c.

*Superiorem*] Madvig and Seyffert have followed two of the best MSS. in omitting 'superiorem;' and it is not wanted, for it is implied by 'inferiori,' and 'excellentiae.'

Scipionis in nostro, ut ita dicam, grege. Nunquam se ille Philo, nunquam Rupilio, nunquam Mummio anteposuit, nunquam inferioris ordinis amicis. Q. vero Maximum fratrem, egregium virum omnino, sibi nequaquam parem, quod is anteibat aetate tamquam superiorem colebat, suosque omnes per se esse ampliores volebat. 70. Quod faciendum imitandumque est omnibus, ut, si quam praestantiam virtutis, ingenii, fortunae consecuti sunt, impertiant ea suis communicentque cum proximis; ut, si parentibus nati sint humilibus, si propinquos habeant imbecilliores vel animo vel fortuna, eorum augeant opes eisque honori sint et dignitati: ut in fabulis, qui aliquamdiu propter ignorationem stirpis et generis in famulatu fuerint, quum cogniti sunt et aut Deorum aut regum filii inventi, retinent tamen caritatem in pastores quos patres multos annos esse duxerunt. Quod est multo profecto magis in veris patribus certisque faciendum. Fructus

*Anteposuit,*] 'Preferred,' that is, he avoided the assumption of superiority, and did not claim more because of his real superiority. Aristotle touches on this topic in his Eth. Nicom. viii. 14.

*Q. vero Maximum*] This was Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, the eldest son of L. Aemilius Paulus. He was adopted by Fabius Maximus, as his brother was adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Africanus Major.

*Communicentque*] "And share them with their nearest friends;" that is, make them 'communia.' Cicero speaking of partners in a business says, "Nam socii putandi sunt quos inter res communicata est" (Verr. ii. 3, c. 20); "whose property becomes a common stock."

*Proximis;*] *Perhaps it is* hardly *necessary to repeat Seyffert's* remark, that 'proximi' does not mean 'our neighbours,' that is, all mankind, in the Christian sense; and indeed the word itself means that some are nearer to us than others. Cicero (De Off. i. 14) says "proximi sunt parentes, uxor, liberi," &c. Its meaning is often fixed by the addition of 'genere' or the like. The doctrine of universal brotherhood was not taught by heathen antiquity, so far as it appears, until after the publication of Christianity, though Socrates, if rightly reported, came near it. The emperor Marcus Antoninus in his comprehensive morality tells us to love "the human race" (vii. 31); and (v. 33) "to do good to men," and "to love those who evilly entreat us" (ix. 27).

*In fabulis,*] In plays, dramatic representations.

enim ingenii et virtutis omnisque praestantiae tum m mus capitur quum in proximum quemque confertur.

XX. 71. Ut igitur ii qui sunt in amicitiae conjun nisque necessitudine superiores, exaequare se cum infe ibus debent; sic inferiores non dolere se a suis aut genio aut fortuna aut dignitate superari. Quorum pleri aut queruntur semper aliquid aut etiam exprobrant; e magis, si habere se putant quod officiose et amice et labore aliquo suo factum queant dicere. Odiosum s genus hominum officia exprobrantium, quae memin debet is in quem collata sunt, non commemorare qui tulit. 72. Quamobrem ut ii qui superiores sunt sub tere se debent in amicitia, sic quodam modo inferi extollere. Sunt enim quidam qui molestas amicitias ciunt, quum ipsi se contemni putant; quod non fere tingit nisi iis qui etiam contemnendos se arbitrantur, hac opinione non modo verbis sed etiam opere lev sunt. 73. Tantum autem cuique tribuendum, prim quantum ipse efficere possis; deinde etiam, quantum quem diligas atque adjuves sustinere. Non enim tu p quamvis licet excellas, omnes tuos ad honores amplis

20. *Officiose*] The word means conformably to their 'officium' or duty. Cicero has a treatise "De Officiis." 'Amice' is more than 'officiose.' In Verr. ii. 1, c. 24, there is: "Lampsaceni . . . in omnes cives Romanos officiosi."

*Submittere*] The word here means to "abase themselves, lower themselves," that is, in a proper sense, to the level of their less gifted friends; a sense closely related to a more common meaning of verbs compounded with 'sub,' such as 'subire,' 'subesse,' and the like. The 'inferiores' *must raise* themselves up, endeavour *to* raise their thoughts and *sentiments to* the level of their more gifted friends. 'Se' dently to be supplied wi tollere.'

*Non enim tu,* &c.] enim neque tu possis, qu cellas,' &c.: Seyffert. Seyffert, the best MSS. adds, "manifestly Cicer to go on to say, 'neque quae ad eum deferre v nere (possit);' that he so, but left the form c tion that he had begun to another, is to be e the intermediate claus &c." Those who are more on this matter, his note.

perducere; ut Scipio P. Rupilium potuit Consulem efficere, fratrem ejus Lucium non potuit. Quod si etiam possis quidvis deferre ad alterum, videndum est tamen quid ille possit sustinere. 74. Omnino amicitiae corroboratis jam confirmatisque et ingeniis et aetatibus judicandae sunt: nec si qui ineunte aetate venandi aut pilae studiosi fuerunt, eos habere necessarios quos tum eodem studio praeditos dilexerunt; isto enim modo nutrices et paeda-

*Deferre*] This is a word of technical use, in such expressions as "deferre honores alicui," or "ad aliquem," "to confer on a person the honores of the state," which the Roman 'populus' did.

*Nec si qui—fuerunt,*] Orelli has 'fuerint.'

*Habere necessarios*] I do not see how this infinitive 'habere' is to be explained. Yet the meaning is clear, for 'si qui . . . fuerunt' fills the place of the subject, to which in ordinary cases there would be a corresponding verb, on which 'habere' would depend: 'nor must they who in their early years have been eager about hunting and ball-playing, be required to consider those as their intimate friends whom they loved at that time because they were fond of the same pursuits.' If Cicero wrote the text as it stands, it is either a careless way of writing, and this seems probable, for the meaning is plain; or it may be a case where our knowledge of the Latin language fails us. The more I consider the various explanations, the less satisfactory they seem.

*Isto enim,* &c.] This use of 'isto' seems to mean by implication "for if you should maintain what I have just denied, then," &c. After "*alio quodam modo*" *some MSS. have* 'amandi,' and others 'colendi,' both of which look like an attempt to explain the text; for the words 'negligendi quidem,' followed by 'sed,' imply a word that is to be opposed to 'negligendi.' The clause from 'isto enim modo' to 'postulabunt' is parenthetical; and 'qui negligendi' does not refer to 'nutrices et paedagogi,' but to 'eos—quos tum.' But what is to be supplied with "alio quodam modo?" "Negligendi non sunt," says Seyffert, who refers "qui negligendi" to "nutrices et paedagogi." But this explanation is not satisfactory. A Roman knew that he ought to feel some gratitude to 'nutrices' and 'paedagogi:' friendship with them was out of the question. But what was he to do with his youthful companions, whom he once loved? The answer is that he must not entirely neglect them, but he must treat them in some other way. If the clause from "isto enim modo" to "postulabunt" were omitted, as it may be, the sense would be clearer, because the two parts of the sentence, which relate to one another, would not be disjoined by the parenthesis ("isto enim — postulabunt"); and we might supply 'habendi' from 'habere.' But I do not believe that this is the true explanation, and the sentence

gogi jure vetustatis plurimum benevolentiae postulabunt: qui negligendi quidem non sunt, sed alio quodam modo: aliter amicitiae stabiles permanere non possunt. Dispares enim mores disparia studia sequuntur quorum dissimilitudo dissociat amicitias; nec ob aliam causam ullam boni improbis, improbi bonis amici esse non possunt, nisi quod tanta est inter eos quanta maxima potest esse morum studiorumque distantia. 75. Recte etiam praecipi potest in amicitiis ne intemperata quaedam benevolentia, quod persaepe fit, impediat magnas utilitates amicorum. Nec enim, ut ad fabulas redeam, Trojam Neoptolemus capere potuisset, si Lycomedem apud quem erat educatus, multis cum lacrimis iter suum impedientem, audire voluisset; et saepe incidunt magnae res ut discedendum sit ab amicis: quas qui impedire vult, quod desiderium non facile ferat, is et infirmus est mollisque natura et ob eam ipsam causam in amicitia parum justus. 76. Atque in omni re considerandum est et quid postules ab amico et quid patiare a te impetrari.

appears to be purposely left in this indeterminate state: "they must not be neglected, it is true; but they are to be dealt with in a particular and a different way." This is a case in which a Latin sentence can omit the verb or verbal form, of which many examples might be cited. The English sentence is almost unintelligible if the verb or verbal form be not added. The words "aliter amicitiae," &c., refer to the beginning of the sentence, "Omnino amicitiae — judicandae sunt:" and the whole that lies between is parenthetical with reference to these two extremes.

*Paedagogi*] A Greek word, '*boy-conductors*,' slaves whose business it was to look after children, to attend them to school, and the like. It was usual for the wealthy Romans to have Greek slaves for this purpose, and probably the name 'paedagogus' was introduced with the practice of employing Greek slaves to look after children.

*Et saepe incidunt*] I have followed Seyffert in making this the second part of the sentence which begins 'nec enim,' as it manifestly is. Compare "neque in rebus humanis—et," c. 21. 'Discedendum sit' does not mean a breaking of friendship, but a temporary separation of friends.

*Justus*] Does not mean 'just.' It means 'perfect.' A 'justus amicus' is a complete, perfect friend, a man who fulfils all the conditions of friendship.

XXI. Est etiam quaedam calamitas in amicitiis dimittendis nonnunquam necessaria; jam enim a sapientium familiaritatibus ad vulgares amicitias oratio nostra delabitur. Erumpunt saepe vitia amicorum tum in ipsos amicos tum in alienos, quorum tamen ad amicos redundet infamia. Tales igitur amicitiae sunt remissione usus eluendae, et, ut Catonem dicere audivi, dissuendae magis quam discindendae; nisi quaedam admodum intolerabilis injuria exarserit, ut neque rectum neque honestum sit nec fieri possit ut non statim alienatio disjunctioque facienda sit. 77. Sin autem aut morum aut studiorum commutatio quaedam, ut fieri solet, facta erit, aut in rei publicae partibus dissensio intercesserit, loquor enim jam, ut paullo ante dixi, non de sapientium sed de communibus amicitiis, cavendum erit ne non solum amicitiae depositae sed etiam inimicitiae susceptae videantur. Nihil enim turpius quam cum eo bellum gerere quicum familiariter vixeris. Ab amicitia Q. Pompeii meo nomine se removerat, ut scitis, Scipio; propter dissensionem autem, quae erat in re publica, alienatus est a collega nostro Metello. Utrumque

21. *Redundet*] Some MSS. have 'redundat;' but Cicero does not directly say that it 'does redound;' he says that "vices or faults break out both against friends themselves and also against strangers, yet in such wise that the disgrace falls back on the friends." 'Quorum infamia' only refers to 'tum in alienos.' It is the usual form of Cicero's sentence when he makes one affirmative emphatic, and the other subordinate. Seyffert's explanation is this: That the wrongful deed is intended to be marked by the subjunctive 'redundet,' as one the 'infamia' of which must necessarily fall back upon friends. This is a different view of the matter, but not the true one, as I think.

'Infamia' means 'disgrace,' or 'blame,' and is not used in its technical and political sense.

*Rei publicae*] It is better to write these words as two words, which they are. 'Res publica' is constantly opposed to 'res privata.' There are also the expressions 'res Romana,' and many others. At the beginning of the sentence Orelli has "Sin autem morum," but the MSS. authority is in favour of 'aut morum,' and also the meaning of the passage.

*Q. Pompeii*] Q. Pompeius Nepos, who was consul B.C. 141. Metellus is Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, who was an augur, and so a colleague of Laelius and Scipio.

egit graviter, auctoritate et offensione animi non acerba. 78. Quamobrem primum danda opera est nequa amicorum discidia fiant; sin tale aliquid evenerit, ut extinctae potius amicitiae quam oppressae esse videantur. Cavendum vero ne etiam in graves inimicitias convertant se amicitiae, ex quibus jurgia, maledicta, contumeliae gignuntur: quae tamen si tolerabiles erunt, ferendae sunt, et hic honos veteri amicitiae tribuendus, ut is in culpa sit qui faciat, non is qui patiatur injuriam. Omnino omnium horum vitiorum atque incommodorum una cautio est atque una provisio, ut ne nimis cito diligere incipiant neve non dignos. 79. Digni autem sunt amicitia quibus in ipsis inest causa cur diligantur. Rarum genus, et quidem omnia praeclara rara, nec quidquam difficilius quam reperire quod sit omni ex parte in suo genere perfectum. Sed plerique neque in rebus humanis quidquam bonum norunt nisi quod fruc-

*Gignuntur:*] Seyffert has a note on 'gignuntur,' which he explains correctly. The clause 'ex quibus' contains a direct, independent predication as to "graves inimicitiae." On so nice a matter does this question of the indicative and subjunctive often turn, that a man must keep his understanding active in order to apprehend it; one advantage of reading writers whom one must read with care in order to understand. Ernesti's text of this passage in the London reprint is a curiosity: "cavendum vero est, ne . . . se amicitiae: ex quibus . . . gignantur." It would require an Oedipus to explain such an "ex quibus . . . gignantur," thus detached from what precedes.

*Quae tamen si*] When friendship comes to an end, it should end decently. There should be no *brawling* or quarrelling. This is *the advice of* a Roman gentleman. *He goes* so far as to say that even foul words and abuse are to be endured to a certain extent (si tolerabiles erunt); for Roman virtue did not require a man to endure every thing. Cicero says (De Off. i. 11), 'that a limit must be observed in avenging and punishing,' which implies that as a general rule an injury must be resented. So here he says: "this respect must be paid to old friendship, that he shall be in fault who does the wrong, not he who suffers it." We must reverse the rule, which requires a man to resent a wrong, and excuse him out of respect to the friendship that once existed.

*Ut ne*] This occurs in De Am. 16, 18. 'Neve' or 'neu,' follows another 'ne,' and sometimes 'ut' only; as Caes. Bell. Gall. ii. 21. 'Neve' is sometimes used when there is no 'ne,' in commands or precepts, or the like. Virg. Georg. ii. 298, iv. 47; Hor. Carm. i. 2, 47.

tuosum sit; et amicos tamquam pecudes eos potissimum diligunt ex quibus sperant se maximum fructum esse capturos. 80. Ita pulcherrima illa et maxime naturali carent amicitia per se et propter se expetenda; nec ipsi sibi exemplo sunt haec vis amicitiae qualis et quanta sit. Ipse enim se quisque diligit, non ut aliquam a se ipse mercedem exigat caritatis suae, sed quod per se sibi quisque carus est. Quod nisi idem in amicitiam transferetur, verus amicus nunquam reperietur; est enim is qui est tamquam alter idem. 81. Quod si hoc apparet in bestiis, volucribus, nantibus, agrestibus, cicuribus, feris, primum ut se ipsae diligant, id enim pariter cum omni animante nascitur, deinde ut requirant atque appetant ad quas se applicent ejusdem generis animantes, idque faciunt cum desiderio et cum quadam similitudine amoris humani, quanto id magis in homine fit natura, qui et se ipse diligit, et alterum anquirit cujus animum ita cum suo misceat ut efficiat paene unum ex duobus?

*Expetenda;*] The best MSS. have 'expetita,' as Seyffert says.—'Nec ipsi,' &c.: "nor are they to themselves an example of the nature and extent of this power of friendship." He adds that a man does not love himself with the hope of reward, but simply for love's sake; and if the same rule is not applied to friendship, there will never be found a true friend, that is, another self. As self-love or self-regard is not for profit's sake, so must the love of a friend be; for a friend is another self. This is what he says. What it is worth, is a different matter.

*Transferetur,*] The greater number of MSS. are said to have 'transferatur;' which would not express the meaning, which is, that the same rule must be transferred to *friendship. The reading of* Orelli is "est enim is quidem tamquam," &c., which hardly seems to express clearly what is meant: and 'qui est' seems necessary.

*Quadam similitudine*] Animals are here compared with man as to some of their passions and affections. They and men have a certain nature in common, but man has something more than beasts. This notion is the foundation of Ulpian's threefold division of law (Inst. i. tit. 2. "Jus naturale est quod natura omnia animalia docuit"), an unpractical division of the matter of law, and one that has generally been misunderstood; but still it has a meaning. Those who are curious, and have the opportunity, may see Savigny's explanation, System des Heut. Röm. Rechts, vol. i., Beylage i.

XXII. 82. Sed plerique perverse, ne dicam impudenter, amicum habere talem volunt quales ipsi esse non possunt; quaeque ipsi non tribuunt amicis, haec ab eis desiderant. Par est autem primum ipsum esse virum bonum, tum alterum similem sui quaerere. In talibus ea quam jamdudum tractamus stabilitas amicitiae confirmari potest, quum homines benevolentia conjuncti primum cupiditatibus iis quibus ceteri serviunt imperabunt, deinde aequitate justitiaque gaudebunt, omniaque alter pro altero suscipiet, neque quidquam unquam nisi honestum et rectum alter ab altero postulabit, neque solum colent inter se ac diligent sed etiam verebuntur. Nam maximum ornamentum amicitiae tollit qui ex ea tollit verecundiam. 83. Itaque in iis perniciosus est error qui existimant libidinum peccatorumque omnium patere in amicitia licentiam. Virtutum amicitia adjutrix a natura data est, non vitiorum comes, ut, quoniam solitaria non posset virtus ad ea quae summa sunt pervenire, conjuncta et consociata cum altera perveniret; quae si quos inter societas aut est aut fuit aut futura est, eorum est habendus ad summum naturae bonum optimus beatissimusque comitatus. 84. Haec est, inquam, societas in qua omnia insunt quae putant homines expetenda, honestas, gloria, tranquillitas animi, atque jucunditas; ut et quum haec adsint beata vita sit, et sine his esse non

22. *Amicum habere talem*] Seyffert has 'talem amicum habere.' Madvig has 'talem habere amicum.' This is one of the instances, and they occur in every chapter, of variations in the order of words. The critics decide for one order in preference to another in such cases for various reasons. Sometimes one may see a reason in the emphasis for one order before another; but I see no reason here.

*Similem sui*] There is a reading 'similem sibi;' but 'similem sui,' a likeness of himself, is the true reading. See Key's Lat. Grammar, § 936, as to this use of 'similis' as a noun. 'Similis' with a genitive is the image or reflection: 'similis' with a dative is only 'like to,' in some respects, not all. Seyffert refers to Cicero, De Nat. Deorum, ii. 59, 'Itaque plectri,' &c.

*Colent inter se*] Forcellini gives other examples of this use of 'inter,' as "Ciceronis pueri amant inter se." (Ad Att. vi. 1.) He says it is the same as 'invicem:' others find some difference.

possit. Quod quum optimum maximumque sit, si id volumus adipisci, virtuti opera danda est, sine qua nec amicitiam neque ullam rem expetendam consequi possumus. Ea vero neglecta, qui se amicos habere arbitrantur, tum se denique errasse sentiunt quum eos gravis aliquis casus experiri cogit. 85. Quocirca, dicendum est enim saepius, quum judicaveris, diligere oportet; non, quum dilexeris, judicare. Sed quum multis in rebus negligentia plectimur, tum maxime in amicis et deligendis et colendis; praeposteris enim utimur consiliis et acta agimus, quod vetamur vetere proverbio. Nam implicati ultro et citro vel usu diuturno vel etiam officiis repente in medio cursu amicitias exorta aliqua offensione dirumpimus.

XXIII. 86. Quo etiam magis vituperanda est rei maxime necessariae tanta incuria. Una est enim amicitia in rebus humanis de cujus utilitate omnes uno ore consentiunt: quamquam a multis virtus ipsa contemnitur et venditatio quaedam atque ostentatio esse dicitur. Multi divitias despiciunt, quos parvo contentos tenuis victus cultusque delectat; honores vero quorum cupiditate quidam inflammantur, quam multi ita contemnunt ut nihil inanius, nihil esse levius existiment: itemque cetera quae quibusdam admirabilia videntur, permulti sunt qui pro

*Quod quum optimum*, &c.] This refers to 'ut—beata vita sit.' He has before called a happy life 'summum naturae bonum.' But this end is not to be reached directly: we reach it through virtue, which leads to friendship; and in friendship 'omnia insunt,' &c.

*Acta agimus*,] A proverb, as we are here told. To do a thing that is done is to labour in vain. Ter. Phorm. 2, 3, 72: "Ohe, actum, aiunt, ne agas." The proverb explains the word 'praeposteris:' "*we do that* afterwards *which we should do first*;" that is, carefully consider.

*Ultro et citro*] 'Ultro citroque' is the more common form: it means 'hitherwards and thitherwards,' 'backward and forward,' when 'citro' is the 'backward.' With 'implicati' it expresses the complete involvement or entanglement which arises from 'usus diuturnus,' or from 'officia.'

23. *Venditatio*] 'Venditatio' is the puffing of a thing which a man wishes to sell; hence an attempt to make a thing appear worth more than it is.

nihilo putent. De amicitia omnes ad unum idem sentiunt, et ii qui ad rem publicam se contulerunt, et ii qui rerum cognitione doctrinaque delectantur, et ii qui suum negotium gerunt otiosi; postremo ii qui se totos tradiderunt voluptatibus, sine amicitia vitam esse nullam, si modo velint aliqua ex parte liberaliter vivere. 87. Serpit enim nescio quomodo per omnium vitas amicitia, nec ullam aetatis degendae rationem patitur esse expertem sui. Quin etiam si quis asperitate ea est et immanitate naturae congressus ut hominum fugiat atque oderit, qualem fuisse Athenis Timonem nescio quem accepimus, tamen is pati non possit ut non anquirat aliquem apud quem evomat virus acerbitatis suae. Atque hoc maxime judicaretur, si quid tale posset contingere ut aliquis nos Deus ex hac hominum frequentia tolleret et in solitudine uspiam collocaret, atque ibi suppeditans omnium rerum quas natura desiderat abundantiam et copiam hominis omnino adspiciendi potestatem eriperet. Quis tam esset ferreus qui eam vitam ferre posset, cuique non auferret fructum voluptatum omnium solitudo? 88. Verum ergo illud est quod a Tarentino Archyta, ut opinor, dici solitum, nostros senes

*Nullam,*] Some MSS. have 'sentiunt nullam,' and others 'nullam sentiunt;' where 'sentiunt' appears to be an interpolation.

*Liberaliter*] Properly means like 'free persons;' hence, with propriety, decency, and the like. 'Liberalis' is often used in this sense, as opposed to 'servilis.'

*Asperitate ea*] Orelli has 'ea asperitate.' The reason for placing 'asperitate' first may be easily seen.

*Timonem nescio quem*] A contemptuous or indifferent way of speaking, 'one Timon.' The story of this Timon is told, among others, by Plutarch (Life of Antonius, c. 70, and Life of Alcibiades, c. 16). Shakspeare has painted the character well in his "Timon of Athens."

*Ibi*] 'Ibi' is a dative, or rather a case of locality, as 'ubi' (cubi) is of 'quis:' and 'ibi' refers to a place mentioned, as 'is' does to a person or thing mentioned.

*Ferreus*] We need not suppose that Cicero thought that there was any etymological relationship between 'ferreus' and 'ferre;' but it is plain that he has made what we call a play on the words, a sample of bad taste not uncommon with him.

*Tarentino Archyta,*] See

commemorare audivi ab aliis senibus auditum: si quis in caelum ascendisset naturamque mundi et pulchritudinem siderum perspexisset, insuavem illam admirationem ei fore, quae jucundissima fuisset si aliquem cui narraret habuisset. Sic natura solitarium nihil amat, semperque ad aliquod tamquam adminiculum annititur, quod in amicissimo quoque dulcissimum est.

XXIV. Sed quum tot signis eadem natura declaret quid velit, anquirat, desideret, obsurdescimus tamen nescio quomodo, nec ea quae ab ea monemur audimus. Est enim varius et multiplex usus amicitiae, multaeque causae suspicionum offensionumque dantur, quas tum evitare tum elevare tum ferre sapientis est. Una illa sublevanda offensio est, ut et utilitas in amicitia et fides retineatur; nam et monendi amici saepe sunt et objurgandi; et haec accipienda amice quum benevole fiunt. 89. Sed nescio

Sen. c. 12, 'Archytae Tarentini.' It is doubtful why Cicero puts the ethnic name first in one case, and second in the other. The general rule is that the ethnic name stands second.

24. *Ea quae ab ea monemur*] There are some verbs which have the double accusative, of the person and of the thing in the active, and retain the accusative of the thing in the passive, as 'docere,' 'celare,' 'monere.'

*Est enim—usus,* &c.] 'Usus amicitiae,' meaning the 'intercourse between friends,' is very varied, and hence must arise causes of suspicion and offence, which a wise man must avoid, or make them as light as may be (elevare), or bear. But there is one cause of offence that must be totally removed out of the way (sublevanda), in *order that the profit of friendship and good faith* in it may be kept; for friends must be advised and reproved, and they must take advice and reproof like friends, when they are advised and reproved with a good intention. "Utilitas in amicitia" is better than Orelli's reading "veritas in amicitia." The strange misunderstanding of the words 'usus,' 'elevare,' and 'sublevanda,' by some critics, is well exposed by Seyffert, who has explained the passage correctly. Some MSS. have "sublevanda est offensio." Madvig has 'subeunda offensio est,' a bad conjecture of Forcellini. The first meaning of 'sublevare' is 'to take up' (Cic. Ad Att. x. 4), which may be for the purpose of putting aside and out of the way, or to assist and help. 'Elevare' is something less than 'sublevare,' as Cicero has it (Tusc. iii. 16): "nihil est quod tam obtundat elevetque aegritudinem quam," &c.

quomodo verum est quod in Andria familiaris meus dicit:

Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

Molesta veritas, si quidem ex ea nascitur odium, quod est venenum amicitiae; sed obsequium multo molestius, quod peccatis indulgens praecipitem amicum ferri sinit. Maxima autem culpa in eo qui et veritatem aspernatur et in fraudem obsequio impellitur. Omni igitur hac in re habenda ratio et diligentia est, primum, ut monitio acerbitate, deinde ut objurgatio contumelia careat. In obsequio autem, quoniam Terentiano verbo lubenter utimur, comitas adsit, assentatio vitiorum adjutrix procul amoveatur, quae non modo amico sed ne libero quidem digna est:

*Familiaris meus*] Laelius alludes to Terence, who was on such intimate terms with the younger Africanus and Laelius, that it was supposed or said that he was assisted by them in his plays; to which Terence himself alludes (Prolog. Adelph.), without denying it. See also Cicero (Ad Att. vii. 3). The passage here cited is from the Andria (i. 1, 41).

*In fraudem*] 'Fraus' here means 'self-deception.'

*Omni igitur*] Orelli has 'omnis igitur.'

*Non modo—sed ne libero quidem*] Here the predicate (digna) is in the second clause, and 'non modo' is generally explained to stand for 'non modo non' in such a case. But this is not a good explanation. 'Modo' means 'in a manner,' 'in a degree;' and 'digna' belongs to both members. It may be translated: "which not to say a friend, is not worthy even of a free man." 'Non modo' must be taken together, as the order of the words shows. In the example in c. 12, 'non modo—vindicanda est,' there are two predicates, and if we translate 'non modo' by 'not only' we do not miss the meaning. But the true translation is this: "such a combination of the wicked, I don't say, is not to be covered by the excuse of friendship, but it is rather to be visited with every punishment." There are many passages in which 'non modo' cannot be translated 'not only,' which shows that 'not only' is not the true way of understanding it. For instance (Cic. Verr. ii. 3, c. 31): "An poterat non modo Apronius, sed quivis, si exercitui metiendum esset, improbare Siculum frumentum?" which means, 'I don't ask if Apronius could, but if any man could refuse to accept Sicilian corn,' &c.

There are cases in which there is a double negative in the first clause, even when 'ne . . quidem' with the common predicate is in the second clause: "Non modo oppidum nullum, sed ne domus quidem ulla paulo locupletior expers hujus injuriae, reperietur' (Verr. ii. 4, c. 22). The 'nullum' is only a repe

r enim cum tyranno, aliter cum amico vivitur. 90. ıs autem aures veritati clausae sunt ut ab amico verum re nequeat, hujus salus desperanda est. Scitum est ı illud Catonis, ut multa: melius de quibusdam acernimicos mereri quam eos amicos qui dulces videantur; verum saepe dicere, hos nunquam. Atque illud abum est, quod ii qui monentur eam molestiam quam nt capere non capiunt, eam capiunt qua debent vacare. asse enim se non anguntur; objurgari moleste ferunt; . contra oportebat delicto dolere, correctione gaudere.

XV. 91. Ut igitur et monere et moneri proprium est ɜ amicitiae, et alterum libere facere non aspere, altepatienter accipere non repugnanter, sic habendum ıullam in amicitiis pestem esse majorem quam adulaːm, blanditiam, assentationem: quamvis enim multis ınibus est hoc vitium notandum levium hominum

of the 'non modo:' 'not to of town, not a single one, is not even a house,' &c.

*tum est*] This participle conthe root 'sci,' and in this ike passages it signifies a ɪaying, a clever saying. The ves 'inscitus,' 'inscitia,' help ılain it.

*ɔd contra*, &c.] Comp. De 23. 'Quod contra' simply ı 'whereas on the contrary ıught.' The notion of sup- 'esse,' or the like, must be ɔd. In Cic. De Off. i. 15, l contra fit a plerisque' is a nt thing.

*Quamvis enim*, &c.] 'Quamıalifies 'multis:' 'for even ɪny accounts.' This word ɜn used in the sense of ,' 'admodum,' a sense which flows from the analysis of ɪrd, 'as much as,' *or* 'as you ' *Cicero* (*Pro S. Rosc.* Amer. 16) says: "quasi vero mihi difficile sit quamvis multos nominatim referre," "as if I should have any difficulty in mentioning by name as many as you please." The word 'notandum' here simply means 'to mark,' 'to notice.' 'Multis nominibus' means 'on many accounts,' literally perhaps, 'on many heads or entries,' and it is apparently connected with the sense of 'nomina,' which signifies entries in a book of accounts, and hence 'debts and credits.' (See Cic. Verr. ii. 1, c. 38, 'his nominibus,' &c.; and ii. 5, c. 5, 'nomine sceleris;' and elsewhere.) Nor will it be thought that this explanation is far fetched, if we consider how many expressions derived from the business of daily life, and more particularly from legal notions, with which the Romans were very familiar, were transferred and applied to other purposes.

atque fallacium, ad voluptatem loquentium omnia, nihil ad veritatem. 92. Quum autem omnium rerum simulatio vitiosa est, tollit enim judicium veri idque adulterat, tum amicitiae repugnat maxime; delet enim veritatem sine qua nomen amicitiae valere non potest. Nam quum amicitiae vis sit in eo ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus, qui id fieri poterit, si ne in uno quidem quoque unus animus erit idemque semper sed varius, commutabilis, multiplex? 93. Quid enim potest esse tam flexibile, tam devium, quam animus ejus qui ad alterius non modo sensum ac voluntatem sed etiam vultum atque nutum convertitur?

> Negat quis; nego: ait; aio: postremo imperavi egomet mihi
> Omnia assentari:

ut ait idem Terentius, sed ille in Gnathonis persona: quod amici genus adhibere omnino levitatis est. 94. Multi autem Gnathonum similes quum sint loco, fortuna, fama superiores, horum est assentatio molesta, quum ad vanitatem accessit auctoritas. 95. Secerni autem blandus amicus a vero et internosci tam potest adhibita diligentia quam

*Ad voluptatem loquentium*] Which Seyffert has adopted, is a better reading than Orelli's and Madvig's, 'ad voluntatem,' &c. as the argument shows. In c. 26, some inferior MSS. have 'ad ipsorum voluptatem.' The two words have been thus confounded.

*Gnathonis*] The quotation is from the Eunuchus of Terence (ii. 2, 21). As to 'persona,' see De Am. c. 1.—'In Gnathonis persona:' which Seyffert has. Orelli has 'sub;' as to the Latinity of which there is some doubt. There is no doubt about 'in persona.'

*Multi autem*, &c.] This has been misunderstood: 'multi Gnathonum similes' is the subject or nominative to 'sint:' 'Now as there are many Gnathos, who in birth, station, reputation stand higher, their flattery is intolerable, when the weight of their position is added to their mendacity.' The form of the English sentence must not mislead; it is only one member as far as 'superiores.'

*Vanitatem*] 'Vanitas' is 'falsehood,' 'lying,' another name for 'assentatio,' the more grievous, when the rank or station of the flatterer gives it weight. See De Am. c. 26.

*Accessit*] Is the true reading, not 'accesserit,' which one MS. has.

omnia fucata et simulata a sinceris atque veris. Contio quae ex imperitissimis constat, tamen judicare solet quid intersit inter popularem, id est, assentatorem et levem civem, et inter constantem, severum, et gravem. 96. Quibus blanditiis C. Papirius nuper influebat in aures contionis, quum ferret legem de tribunis plebis reficiendis. Dissuasimus nos. Sed nihil de me: de Scipione dicam libentius. Quanta illi, Dii immortales, fuit gravitas, quanta in oratione majestas, ut facile ducem populi Romani non comitem diceres. Sed adfuistis, et est in manibus oratio. Itaque lex popularis suffragiis populi repudiata est. Atque ut ad me redeam, meministis, Q. Maximo fratre Scipio-

*Contio*] A meeting or popular assembly. Seyffert has the true form. Some people are still writing nonsense about this word. Seyffert's note is this: "The orthography of the word *contio*, in place of the former reading *concio*, is confirmed by inscriptions, and the best MSS. of Cicero: and consequently it is not derived *a conciendo*, but *a conveniendo*, and from *conventio* was first formed *coventio*, and then *contio*." Orelli, who has 'concio,' says nothing of a MS. reading 'contio.' Professor Key is the first, as far as I know, who has restored the orthography of this word. The Bacchanalian inscription (ed. M. Egizio) has 'coventio.' Varro (De L. L. vi. 88, ed. Müller) has: "In Commentariis Consularibus scriptum sic invenio—C. Calpurni, Cos. dicit, voca ad conventionem omnes Quirites huc ad me." This is the same as 'vocare in contionem,' whence the identity of 'contio' and 'conventio' appears.

*Popularem,*] 'Popularis,' one who supports the popular party against the 'boni' or 'optimates.' Cicero puts an explanation of the term in the mouth of Laelius, which was suitable to the opinions of Laelius, and also his own. Comp. what Cicero says on this matter, Pro Sest. 45. Cicero's 'populares' in this passage are demagogues, men who would make great changes in the state. The 'optimates' and the 'boni' are such in the opinion of those who are of that side. They are against change.

*C. Papirius*] This is C. Papirius Carbo, c. 11, 12. He proposed a lex to allow the election of a person to the tribuneship as often as the plebs might please; but it was rejected through the influence of Laelius and Scipio. 'Ferre legem' is the usual phrase for proposing an enactment (lex), though an enactment proposed was properly called 'rogatio.' 'Perferre legem' is to carry a law, to get it passed by the comitia.

*Est in manibus oratio.*] This is the usual phrase to express that an oration was extant, and in circulation.

*Q. Maximo*] See c. 19, note.

nis et L. Mancino consulibus, quam popularis lex de sacerdotiis C. Licinii Crassi videbatur. Cooptatio enim collegiorum ad populi beneficium transferebatur. Atque is primus instituit in forum versus agere cum populo; tamen illius vendibilem orationem religio deorum immor-

C. Laelius was praetor in the consulship of Q. Fabius Maximus and L. Mancinus, B.C. 145. Five years after he was consul.

*Cooptatio*] 'Cooptatio' was a term applied to the colleges of priests, to signify that they filled up vacancies in their own bodies by self-election. They were close corporations. The lex mentioned in the text was proposed B.C. 145, and its object was to give to the comitia the election of members to fill up vacant places in the priestly colleges. Such a lex might accordingly be called 'popularis.' The honours or the offices which the people conferred were called 'beneficia populi,' the favours of the 'populus.' As to other uses of this word, see Cicero (Pro Arch. c. 5; Ad Div. v. 20, and the note of Manutius).

*Instituit*] In this and like cases, signifies to "establish as a custom," or "to make the arrangements" for any thing, and is followed by an infinitive. 'Agere cum populo,' like the ordinary use of 'agere cum aliquo,' implies the transaction of something in the nature of business; and in a derived sense 'cum aliquo agi' may express any dealing of which a man is the object (De Am. 1), "quum enim saepe mecum ageres," &c.; (De Am. 3) "cum illo . . . actum esse praeclare." 'Agere cum populo,' according to Messala, quoted by Gellius (xiii. 15), means to propose some measure to the populus for their acceptance or rejection.

*In forum versus*, &c.] According to Niebuhr, the place where the patricians held their elections was the comitium, and that of the plebeians was the forum; both of which were on the same level, and might be considered as forming one place, comprehended in the general term 'forum.' The old rostra separated the comitium from the plebeian forum, and up to the time mentioned in the text the tribunes, when they spoke from the rostra, turned their faces towards the comitium and the curia Hostilia. C. Licinius Crassus, according to the statement in the text, must have brought the populus, that is, the patricians, from the comitium to the forum to hear his harangue. If the forum was made the place of general meeting for the populus and the plebs, the tribunes must, of course, have turned their back to the comitium, and their face to the forum, when they addressed a contio composed of the two bodies. According to Plutarch (Life of C. Gracchus, c. 5), whose version of the story shows that he hardly understood it; C. Gracchus 'was the first who turned his face the other way, to the forum.' There is the expression 'ad oceanum versus,' Caesar, B. G. vi. 33.

*Vendibilem*] This word, which means 'saleable,' or 'for sale,' does not mean 'venal' in this passage. It was like a commodity

talium nobis defendentibus facile vincebat. Atque id actum est praetore me quinquennio ante quam consul sum factus. Ita re magis quam summa auctoritate causa illa defensa est.

XXVI. 97. Quod si in scena, id est, in contione, in qua rebus fictis et adumbratis loci plurimum est, tamen verum valet, si modo id patefactum et illustratum est, quid in amicitia fieri oportet quae tota veritate perpenditur? in qua nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus videas tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum, nihil exploratum habeas; ne amare quidem aut amari, quum id quam vere fiat ignores. Quamquam ista assentatio, quamvis perniciosa sit, nocere tamen nemini potest nisi ei qui eam recipit atque ea delectatur.

which recommends itself, something that is readily passed off. So was the proposal of Crassus. The people liked it, and were ready to accept it, but they yielded to the religious argument of Laelius, founded on the old institutions of Rome.

*Summa auctoritate*] Seyffert says that the best MSS. have 'summa.' Orelli marks 'summa' as being in some MSS.; but he does not admit it into his text. Seyffert has well explained it. The opposition of Laelius succeeded more through the merits of his case than his rank or station; for he was only praetor, as he tells us. If he had been consul, his position would have given him 'summa auctoritas;' and it might have been said that he owed his success to the office that he held.

96. *Scena,*] The stage, the theatrum (Ad Q. Fr. c. 14), that is, in 'public,' as opposed to 'private.' Horace says (Sat. ii. 1, v. 71): "Quin ubi se a vulgo et scena in secreta remorant."

*Recipit*] *'Recipit' is not 'accipit,'* nor 'suscipit.' The 're' in 'redire,' 'retinere,' 'recipere,' and so on, has always a meaning. It expresses either a correlative, as in 'dare,' 'reddere;' or something which has reference to an antecedent. 'Recipit' implies a willing, ready reception, the consequence of a promise, of an engagement, or, as here, of a disposition of mind.

No man is safe against flattery; but here we are taught that the self-deceiver runs most risk from it. He is prepared to let it work on him by his own good opinion of himself. Some men never flatter: they are too proud to do that, but they may accept flattery, for they take it to be truth and their due. Some will accept flattery from those whom they look on as inferiors and dependants, and give it to those who are their superiors. But it is a meanness of the meanest kind for a man to accept that from others which he knows to be vile when it comes from himself. Such a one has an unbounded conceit of himself, and an unbounded

Ita fit ut is assentatoribus patefaciat aures suas maxime, qui ipse sibi assentetur et se maxime ipse delectet. 98. Omnino est amans sui virtus; optime enim se ipsa novit quamque amabilis sit intelligit: ego autem non de virtute nunc loquor, sed de virtutis opinione. Virtute enim ipsa non tam multi praediti esse quam videri volunt. Hos delectat assentatio; his fictus ad ipsorum voluntatem sermo quum adhibetur, orationem illam vanam testimonium esse laudum suarum putant. Nulla est igitur haec amicitia, quum alter verum audire non vult, alter ad mentiendum paratus est. Nec parasitorum in comoediis assentatio nobis faceta videretur, nisi essent milites gloriosi.

Magnas vero agere gratias Thais mihi?

Satis erat respondere, magnas; ingentes, inquit. Semper auget assentator id quod is cujus ad voluntatem dicitur vult esse magnum. 99. Quamobrem, quamvis blanda ista vanitas apud eos valeat qui ipsi illam allectant atque invitant, tamen etiam graviores constantioresque admonendi sunt ut animum advertant ne callida assentatione capiantur. Aperte enim adulantem nemo non videt, nisi qui

contempt of others. He is said to know men, to know the world; but he falls into the mistake of misunderstanding others and himself too. The only defence against flattery is the hard lesson to know oneself; the first part of which lesson is a reasonable self-distrust. It is true, says Cicero (Omnino est, &c.), that virtue loves itself, for the virtuous man has a consciousness of merit; but Cicero is not speaking of the virtuous: he is speaking of those who suppose themselves to be virtuous and are not; or are content if they have the character of virtue only. See Plutarch, On Flattery, vol. i. ed. Wytt.

*Ea delectatur.*] Orelli has 'in ea,' which spoils the meaning.

*Magnas vero,* &c.] This line is from the Eunuchus of Terence, iii. 1, 1. A 'miles gloriosus,' or braggadochio, was a character in the Roman plays. Plautus has a play called the Miles Gloriosus.

*Quamvis—valeat*] Seyffert has "quamquam . . . valet."

*Animum advertant*] The reading 'animadvertant' is preferred by Seyffert and others; but it seems hard to establish any real distinction between the use of the two forms, one of which is only an abbreviated shape of the other.

admodum est excors: callidus ille et occultus ne se insinuet studiose cavendum est. Nec enim facillime agnoscitur, quippe qui etiam adversando saepe assentetur, et litigare se simulans blandiatur, atque ad extremum det manus vincique se patiatur, ut is qui illusus sit plus vidisse videatur. Quid autem turpius quam illudi? Quod ne accidat cavendum est, ut in Epiclero:

> Hodie me ante omnes comicos stultos senes
> Versaris atque emunxeris lautissime.

*Quippe qui etiam adversando,* &c.] This kind of flattery is touched on by Plutarch (Life of Antonius, c. 24) in these words: "Antonius could not believe that those who spoke so freely in jest, could flatter him in earnest, and so he was easily caught by praise, not knowing that some persons by mingling freedom of expression, like a sharpish sauce, with flattery, took away from flattery its nauseating insipidity; by their boldness and babbling over their cups, striving to make their yielding in matters of business and their assent appear, not the way of persons who keep about a man merely to please him, but of those who are overpowered by superior wisdom." Plutarch and Cicero may have drawn something from a common source; and Cicero partly from his own experience. The lesson is worth remembering, especially by those in place and power. Seyffert has a note here, which I think is true: "Which of the two practised this maxim most against the other, Caesar or Cicero? 'Uter ab altero turpius illusus est?' Cicero writes to Atticus (iv. 15) in B.C. 54: 'illud quidem sumus adepti, quod multis et magnis judiciis possumus judicare, *nos Caesari et carissimos et jucundissimos* esse.' It is really tragicomic to see with how just a judgment Cicero in this passage, as one might expect when he is writing as a philosopher, condemns a thing, which as a statesman he knew so well how to practise, and the foolish wisdom of which he was compelled to experience so bitterly in his own case."

*Det manus*] A usual expression to signify, to surrender like a vanquished man to a victorious enemy; to assume the posture of a suppliant; to yield generally (Caesar, B. G. v. 31).—'Quod ut ne accidat,' Seyff.

*Epiclero:*] In a play of Caecilius, called 'Epiclerus,' or the heiress. In the quotation from Caecilius, 'emunxeris is an emendation of Bentley (Hor. Ar. Poet. 96). The readings are unintelligible, except 'luseris,' which may be right. But the reading of one MS. is 'unxeris,' which Bentley with good argument shows to be intended for 'emunxeris.' 'Emungo' means to wipe the nose, or keep it clean: in the participial form, 'emunctus' is used to signify a man who keeps his nose clean, who has his wits about him. To wipe a man's nose for him, implies that he is a driveller, who cannot do it for himself; and hence it means to outwit and cheat him, as in the

100. Haec enim etiam in fabulis stultissima persona est improvidorum et credulorum senum. Sed nescio quo pacto ab amicitiis perfectorum hominum, id est, sapientium, de hac dico sapientia quae videtur in hominem cadere posse, ad leves amicitias defluxit oratio. Quamobrem ad illa prima redeamus eaque ipsa concludamus aliquando.

XXVII. Virtus, virtus, inquam, C. Fanni et tu Q. Muci, et conciliat amicitias et conservat. In ea est enim convenientia rerum, in ea stabilitas, in ea constantia, quae

Phormio of Terence (iv. 4, 1), 'emunxi argento senes.' 'Lautus,' a form of 'lavatus,' literally, 'washed,' 'clean,' is opposed to 'sordidus,' 'dirty;' but it has the derived meanings of 'elegant,' 'tasteful,' and the like. Cicero speaks of the 'lauti et urbani.' (Verr. ii. 1, c. 6.) 'Emungere lautissime' is, to wipe a man's nose neatly, elegantly, for him.

*In hominem cadere*] Comp. c. 13: "si cadit in sapientem animi dolor." Here he means such a wisdom as man can attain to, not the ideal wisdom of the Stoics.

*Defluxit*] Perhaps a preferable reading to 'deflexit,' which Orelli has. The two words are often confounded in the MSS. 'Deflecto' would rather signify a digression, which is not meant here. It occurs De Am. 12: "deflexit aliquantum." Laelius means to say that his discourse has sunk down to trivial matters, which he expresses (c. 21) by 'delabitur.'

*Concludamus aliquando.*] The position of 'aliquando' at the end of the sentence is significant: 'let us come to a conclusion at last.' So (Verr. Act. i. 18) he ends a sentence thus, 'ut testibus utar statim.' 'Concludo,' 'to enclose within limits,' is also used to express the termination, or, as we say, the conclusion of a thing. Horace (i. Sat. 4, v. 20) has the form "neque enim concludere versum Dixeris esse satis," by which he means to confine it within the limits which the nature of the metre requires.

27. *Virtus, virtus,*] The general notion of virtue has always been the same. Bishop Butler has touched on this matter in his sermon on the Nature of Virtue; but Seyffert observes that the Roman notion of 'virtus' was the "energy of devotion to one's country, and country itself was the highest moral idea." There is truth in this; but the matter is too large to be discussed here. Though all nations, all mankind, agree in their general moral notions, those notions are greatly modified by the positive morality of each country; and Roman moral notions were more closely blended with their political system than they are in any modern nation.

*Convenientia rerum,*] "An agreement of mind and opinion in all things," "summa rerum divinarum humanarumque consensio" (c. 6).

quum se extulit et ostendit lumen suum et idem adspexit agnovitque in alio, ad id se admovet vicissimque accipit illud quod in altero est, ex quo exardescit sive amor sive amicitia. Utrumque enim dictum est ab amando; amare autem nihil aliud est nisi eum ipsum diligere quem ames, nulla indigentia, nulla utilitate quaesita, quae tamen ipsa efflorescit ex amicitia, etiam si tu eam minus sequutus sis. 101. Hac nos adolescentes benevolentia senes illos L. Paullum, M. Catonem, C. Gallum, P. Nasicam, Ti. Gracchum, Scipionis nostri socerum, diliximus. Haec etiam magis elucet inter aequales ut inter me et Scipionem, L. Furium, P. Rupilium, Sp. Mummium. Vicissim autem senes in adolescentium caritate acquiescimus, ut in vestra, ut in Q. Tuberonis: equidem etiam admodum adolescentis P. Rutilii, A. Virginii familiaritate delector. Quoniamque ita ratio comparata est vitae naturaeque nostrae ut alia aetas oriatur ex alia, maxime quidem optandum est ut

*Diligere quem ames,*] Cicero (Ad Div. ix. 14) says, "Quis erat qui putaret ad eum amorem quem erga te habebam posse aliquid accedere? Tantum accessit ut mihi nunc amare videar, antea dilexisse." According to this passage, then, 'amare' implies something of passion or ardour, which is stronger than 'diligere,' to give a preference founded on esteem. When he says "sive amor sive amicitia," he means that you may call it what you like, love or friendship, for 'sive, sive' leaves the thing undetermined. Both, he says, are so called ('dictum,' the reading 'ductum,' is properly rejected) 'ab amando;' and he defines 'amare,' that is, 'amicitia,' to be a preference for a person who is the object of the 'amor' (quem ames), in which preference there is no *feeling that* we are in *want of his aid, and* no calculation of profit. 'Quaesita,' as Seyffert remarks, has clearly no reference to 'indigentia.'

*Senes illos*] Here Laelius enumerates the men who were his friends when he was young, and they were advanced in age. P. Nasica is P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, consul B.C. 162, called Corculum, and must not be confounded with the P. Scipio, mentioned in c. 12, who was his son. Tiberius Gracchus, the father-in-law of our 'Scipio,' was the father of the two tribunes, Ti. and C. Gracchus, and of a daughter, Sempronia, who married the younger Scipio Africanus. Cicero in a work which he wrote after this treatise (De Off. ii. 12) again records the praises of the father, while he condemns the sons, and says that their death was just.

*Oriatur ex alia,*] Seyffert omits the words 'ex alia.' 'Alia

cum aequalibus possis, quibuscum tamquam e carceribus emissus sis, cum iisdem ad calcem, ut dicitur, pervenire. 102. Sed quoniam res humanae fragiles caducaeque sunt, semper aliqui anquirendi sunt quos diligamus et a quibus diligamur: caritate enim benevolentiaque sublata omnis est e vita sublata jucunditas. Mihi quidem Scipio, quamquam est subito ereptus, vivit tamen semperque vivet; virtutem enim amavi illius viri quae exstincta non est. Nec mihi soli versatur ante oculos, qui illam semper in manibus habui, sed etiam posteris erit clara et insignis. Nemo unquam animo aut spe majora suscipiet qui sibi non illius memoriam atque imaginem proponendam putet. 103. Equidem ex omnibus rebus quas mihi aut fortuna aut natura tribuit, nihil habeo quod cum amicitia Scipionis possim comparare. In hac mihi de re publica consensus, in hac rerum privatarum consilium, in eadem requies plena oblectationis fuit. Nunquam illum ne minima quidem re offendi quod quidem senserim; nihil audivi ex

aetas' means 'another generation,' and the words 'ex alia' are not necessary.

*Aequalibus*] The context shows that 'aequales' here means contemporaries, persons who are about the same age. But this is only one of the meanings of 'aequalis,' which contains the same element as 'aequus,' as the uses of the word show. As to 'calcem,' &c., see De Sen. c. 23; and compare Hor. Ep. i. 16, v. 79. It appears that the limit of the course was sometimes marked by a whitened line or rope.

*In manibus habui,*] This is one of the many applications of the phrase "in manibus habere," or "in manibus esse." See De Am. 25; De Sen. 4. The simple notion is "to have a thing in the hand;" hence immediate proximity to a thing, mastery or power over a thing, and the like.

*Qui sibi non illius*] The reading of one MS. "quin sibi illius," spoils the passage, in which the emphasis is on 'illius.'

*Fortuna aut natura*] 'Natura' means a man's nature, all that he is; and some are better furnished 'natura' for life's purposes than others; and for friendship than others. This 'natura' is the man in himself. The 'fortuna' is the accidents as we call them of life, the things external to the man, which he may use or abuse according to the 'natura' that he has.

*Quod quidem senserim;*] "At least so far as I perceived;" "so far as was matter of observation to me." Here the relative 'quod' has not the direct grammatical connexion with an antecedent, which

eo ipse quod nollem. Una domus erat, idem victus isque communis; neque militia solum sed etiam peregrinationes

it has in such passages as "tu non adfuisti qui . . . solitus esses" (De Am. 2); but still it is a like kind of expression, for it implicitly qualifies the predication in the main sentence by limiting the subject 'I' to the matter of his own observation. Professor Key remarks (Latin Grammar, 1195) that with 'quantum' the indicative is used, as in Terence's Andria, ii. 5, 12; i. 3, 2. One does not see why Cicero might not have used 'quantum' here, but would he have said "quantum quidem sensi" in such a sentence as this, and in such a position? In such an expression as "peccasse mihi videor qui a te discesserim," "I think I did wrong in leaving you" (Key's Grammar, 1194), the generality of the notion of my doing wrong is evidently limited by the words 'qui—discesserim;' but the forms of the English and the Latin sentences are different. The English sentence contains a general predication of the 'I,' which is 'think that I did wrong in leaving you;' and this predication again is resolvable into a subject 'I,' and a predication 'did wrong.' Perhaps most persons, led by the form of the English expression, would consider 'in leaving you' as belonging to the predicate. This however is a wrong view of the matter. The Roman form in which this limitation 'in leaving you' is expressed, is by a word which has a grammatical relation to the 'I,' the subject of the sentence, and is of such a nature as to be the nominative to another verb 'discesserim.' "Qui a te discesserim" *cannot therefore* be *disjoined from the* 'ego,' whose culpability it limits to the case of a 'qui discesserim;' and thus the predication 'peccasse' is limited, not directly but indirectly. In Terence (Phormio ii. 1, 4) we have "rogitas qui . . . mi conscius sis?" "Do you ask, you who are privy to?" which English expression comes near the Latin form, but fails to express otherwise than by the order of the words the complete subordination of the second part of the sentence to the first. If any person will place the indicative 'qui discessi' and 'quod sensi,' in these two sentences, he will perceive that he has got a formal and direct affirmation, which is in a relation to the other part of the sentence, not of subordination, but of complete parity; and that is not intended. How the Romans came to adopt this nicety of expression is not our concern to inquire; we see that they have a use of 'qui' with a subjunctive, which expresses a certain notion with a precision that we cannot express. Another instance of this sort is "O miserum senem qui . . . non viderit" (De Sen. 19); generally rendered "wretched, because he has not seen;" to which there is no objection, if it be understood that the Latin sentence is a different thing. The Latin sentence affirms of 'senex' that he is 'miser,' but not of 'senex' generally. The affirmation is of "senex . . . qui non viderit," as it might be of "senex morbo gravis," or the like. (De Sen. 2, &c.)

*Nihil audivi*] Seyffert says that the best and most of the MSS. insert 'enim' after 'nihil;' and he has put it in his text. It seems to

rusticationesque communes. 104. Nam quid ego de studiis dicam cognoscendi semper aliquid atque discendi, in quibus remoti ab oculis populi omne otiosum tempus contrivimus? Quarum rerum recordatio et memoria si una cum illo occidisset, desiderium conjunctissimi atque amantissimi viri ferre nullo modo possem. Sed nec illa exstincta sunt alunturque potius et augentur cogitatione et memoria; et si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen afferret mihi aetas ipsa solatium, diutius enim jam in hoc desiderio esse non possum: omnia autem brevia tolerabilia esse debent etiam si magna sunt. Haec habui de amicitia quae dicerem. Vos autem hortor ut ita virtutem locetis,

me clear that it spoils the sense. Seyffert says that he does not understand Klotz's explanation of 'enim;' nor do I understand Seyffert's note, as I think. This is one of many examples in which a commentator is obscurer than his author.

There was perfect agreement between Scipio and Laelius. Laelius never offended Scipio; at least, he adds, I never discovered that I did; and he never heard a word from Scipio that he would not wish to have heard; not even a word. This seems plain. Seyffert concludes his note with saying that "at any rate the 'enim' is evidence of a very fine psychological tact in Cicero." Probably so; and still finer must be the tact of the man who can discover it.

*Nam quid*] 'Nam' has not simply the sense of 'for,' in such passages as this. If we choose to render it 'For why should I speak?' the word 'for' will require explanation as much as 'nam.' The purpose of 'nam' in this passage is to introduce the mention of a thing on which the speaker does not intend to dwell; and its relation to what precedes is this: after what has been said, the matter introduced by 'nam' requires no particular remark. Comp. De Am. 13, "nam quibusdam," &c. Seyffert refers to Cic. De Off. (iii. 6) "nam illud quidem absurdum" &c. See also Cic. Verr. ii. 1, c. 34, "nam quid Milesiis," &c.; ii. 2, c. 66, "nam quid ego de Syracusanis loquar?"

*Sed nec illa*, &c.] The corresponding clause is "et si illis," &c. 'Nec . . . et' often stand in this relation (De Am. 20): "nec enim . . . et saepe." The 'que' after 'aluntur' is properly retained, as Seyffert shows; for, if it were omitted, the correspondence of the two parts of the sentence would be impaired or weakened.

*Memoria;*] 'Memoria mea:' Seyffert.

*Locetis,*] Those who would adopt Gräve's emendation 'colatis,' mistake the meaning of Laelius, who gives the first place to 'virtus,' and the second to 'amicitia.' It is as if he had said "ut in eo loco virtutem ponatis."

sine qua amicitia esse non potest, ut ea excepta nihil amicitia praestabilius putetis.

*Putetis.*] Many good MSS. have 'esse putetis,' a dactylic ending, which Seyffert finds suitable to the circumstances; but about this there may be a difference of opinion, especially as 'esse non potest' occurs in this sentence.

# AD Q. FRATREM I. 1.

Q. CICERO, the only brother of the orator, M. Tulliu Cicero, was probably born B.C. 102, and consequently wa four years younger than Marcus. He was taken to Rom with his elder brother by their father, and received a goo education after the fashion of the times. In B.C. 79 bot the brothers were at Athens. Quintus appears to hav accompanied Marcus to Asia and Rhodes, and to hav returned to Rome with him B.C. 77. He had not the sam aptitude for oratorical and philosophical pursuits as hi brother, though he had some taste for literature, and som pretensions to be a poet and a writer of annals. He mar ried Pomponia, the sister of T. Pomponius Atticus, hi brother's intimate friend; but Quintus was of a hast temper and so was his wife; and the union was not happ (Cic. Ad Attic. v. 1; and elsewhere). Marcus Cicer was praetor B.C. 66, and consul B.C. 63, and in this yea Quintus was elected praetor. His year of office was B.C. 62 He was afterwards propraetor of the Roman province c Asia (B.C. 61—59) for three years; and he left his pro vince in B.C. 58, the year in which Marcus went into exile When he reached Athens on his way home (15th of May) his brother Marcus had crossed the sea and was in Mac donia. Marcus was recalled to Rome in B.C. 57. In B.C 54 Quintus became a legatus of C. Julius Caesar in Galli and he accompanied his commander in his second Britis

expedition (B.C. 54), and landed with him at Deal on the coast of Kent.

Quintus wrote several letters to Marcus from Britain (Ad Q. Fr. iii. 1 and 3). In the winter of this year (B.C. 54) Quintus was with his legion in the country of the Nervii, and he bravely defended his camp against an unexpected attack of the Gauls, until Caesar came to his help (Caesar, De Bell. Gall. v. 39, &c.). The extant correspondence of Cicero with his brother does not extend beyond the time when he was quartered in the country of the Nervii (Ad Q. Fr. iii. 8); but where the country of the Nervii was, Marcus says that he does not know. The subsequent history of Quintus is not material for the present purpose. He perished in the proscription with his brother B.C. 43.

There are extant three books of the letters of Marcus to Quintus. This, the first of the first book, is less of a letter than an admonitory address. It has more of the character of Cicero's oratorical writings than of his epistolary correspondence, which is easily explained when we see the nature of the subject. Quintus was governor of Asia, the richest of the Roman provinces. We may collect from the letter that he expected to stay only a year in Asia; but Marcus, as the letter shows, had contrived that his brother should have two years, and it happened that he stayed three. He gives some intimation of his motives for this; he seems, as Süpfle says, to have wished that his brother should make amends by a second year's probation for certain hasty proceedings and want of temper in his first year. The object of the elder brother was to maintain and strengthen his family in the high rank to which he had raised it, and accordingly to make this governorship of Asia honourable to Quintus and to himself. The Roman province of Asia, which Quintus administered,

comprehended Mysia with the Hellespontus and T
Aeolis, Ionia, Doris, Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia (Ci
Pro Flacco, c. 27); a tract full of rich towns and a c
vated population. The usual residence of the gove
was Ephesus. This letter was written B.C. 60, in
consulship of L. Afranius and Q. Caecilius Met
Celer.

When any part of a Roman writer is read, the
object of the teacher is to explain the language; but
this purpose, it is necessary sometimes to study the m
also. From this letter some notion may be got of
Roman provincial administration. There is little u
boys' reading Roman history in the usual way in a s
sketch or outline: they generally get as many
notions as true. If the teacher will take the pain
master well each part of an author that he explains t
pupils, his oral instruction on a subject of limited ex
will make more impression on the pupils, and pro
better results than the loose reading of the common
tories. With the view of helping a teacher or dili
student, I have added a few notes to the text of this le
I have used the notes in the Variorum edition, and
commentary of P. Manutius; but there is little in th
For this second edition I have also used the note
K. F. Süpfle's 'M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolae Selec
Karlsruhe, 1849; and I have sometimes found t
useful.

# EPISTOLA AD QUINTUM FRATREM.

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## MARCUS Q. FRATRI S.

I. 1. Etsi non dubitabam quin hanc epistolam multi nuntii, fama denique esset ipsa sua celeritate superatura, tuque ante ab aliis auditurus esses annum tertium accessisse desiderio nostro et labori tuo; tamen existimavi a me quoque tibi hujus molestiae nuntium perferri oportere. Nam superioribus litteris non unis sed pluribus, quum jam ab aliis desperata res esset, tamen tibi ego spem maturae decessionis afferebam; non solum ut quam diutissime te jucunda opinione oblectarem, sed etiam quia tanta adhibebatur et a nobis et a praetoribus contentio ut rem posse confici non diffiderem. 2. Nunc quoniam ita accidit ut neque praetores suis opibus neque nos nostro studio quidquam proficere possemus, est omnino difficile non graviter id ferre; sed tamen nostros animos maximis in rebus et gerendis et sustinendis exercitatos frangi et de-

1. *Etsi—tamen*] This is a common form of sentence in Cicero.—'Dubitabam:' we say, 'though I do not doubt.' See Ep. Lib. i. 11: 'erat—quum haec scribebam;' and the note.

*Litteris non unis*] 'Litterae unae,' one epistle, 'binae,' two, and so on. See Key's Grammar, 1062, on 'unus' in the plural.

*Decessionis*] '*Decedo*,' not 'discedo,' is the word used to signify a governor's leaving his province at the expiration of his term. 'Ex' or 'de provincia' is sometimes joined with the verb; sometimes it is omitted. The word which is applied to the successor in the government is 'succedo.' Tacitus, Agric. 7, 'decessor,' 'successor.'

bilitari molestia non oportet. Et quoniam ea molestissim ferre homines debent quae ipsorum culpa contracta sunt est quiddam in hac re mihi molestius ferendum quam tibi Factum est enim mea culpa, contra quam tu mecum e proficiscens et per litteras egeras, ut priore anno non succederetur. Quod ego, dum saluti sociorum consulo, dun impudentiae nonnullorum negotiatorum resisto, dum nostram gloriam tua virtute augeri expeto, feci non sapienter praesertim quum id commiserim ut ille alter annus etian tertium posset adducere. 3. Quod quoniam peccatun meum esse confiteor, est sapientiae atque humanitatis tuae curare et perficere ut hoc minus sapienter a me provisum diligentia tua corrigatur. Ac si te ipse vehementius ad omnes partes bene audiendi excitaris, non ut cum aliis sed ut tecum jam ipse certes; si omnem tuam mentem, curam, cogitationem, ad excellentem in omnibus rebus laudis cupiditatem incitaris, mihi crede, unus annus additus labori tuo multorum annorum laetitiam nobis, gloriam vero etiam posteris nostris afferet. 4. Quapropter hoc te primum rogo ne contrahas ac demittas animum, neve te obrui tamquam fluctu sic magnitudine negotii sinas; contraque erigas ac resistas sive etiam ultro occurras negotiis.

*Contra quam*] In Orelli's and other editions a comma is placed between these words; and yet editors write 'postquam,' 'praeterquam' as one word. (Comp. Cicero, In Pis. c. 8; Liv. xxx. 19.) It may not be easy to explain how this form of expression originated, but it is certain that 'contra quam' must go together.

*Id commiserim*] Ernesti thinks that 'id' should be 'ita.' Perhaps it should be omitted. 'To put together' is used here and in many other cases 'to act in such way that a certain consequence follows.'

*Bene audiendi*] "And if you will rouse yourself more vigorously to earn a good repute in every thing." "Bene audire," "to be well spoken of," "male audire," "minus commode audire," are Roman expressions, like the Greek εὖ or κακῶς ἀκούειν.

*Ultro*] See De Sen. c. 11, note. We cannot translate 'ultro' by 'even' in this passage, for Cicero says 'etiam ultro,' &c. The sense is clear, though it may not be easy to express. Quintus is told to 'resist,' which implies standing one' ground; but Cicero adds, 'and even go to meet trouble;' when

Neque enim ejusmodi partem rei publicae geris in qua fortuna dominetur, sed in qua plurimum ratio possit et diligentia. Quod si tibi bellum aliquod magnum et periculosum administranti prorogatum imperium viderem, tremerem animo, quod eodem tempore esse intelligerem etiam fortunae potestatem in nos prorogatam. 5. Nunc vero ea pars tibi rei publicae commissa est in qua aut nullam aut perexiguam partem fortuna tenet, et quae mihi tota in tua virtute ac moderatione animi posita esse videatur. Nullas, ut opinor, insidias hostium, nullam praelii dimicationem, nullam defectionem sociorum, nullam

'ultro' shows that the direction is 'forward.'

*Ejusmodi*] See Verr. ii. 1, c. 33. This is a form which Cicero uses very often, where some case of 'talis' would seem to express the same thing. Comp. c. 4, "haec oratio mea non est ejusmodi," &c.

*Prorogatum imperium*] The time of the 'imperium' was prolonged. Cicero says (Ad Att. v. 11) "ne provincia nobis prorogetur," which means the time in the province; and (Verr. ii. 1, c. 38) "impetrat a Senatu ut dies sibi prorogaretur." 'Rogare' is a word of Roman legislation, as 'rogare legem,' to propose a law, that is, to ask the assent of the Quirites, in doing which the word 'rogo' was used. The formula is preserved by Gellius (v. 19). Besides the compound 'prorogo,' which is not said of a 'lex,' but of something else, there are 'abrogo,' 'derogo,' 'subrogo,' 'obrogo,' all of which are said of a 'lex.'

*Tenet,—videatur.*] Both these tenses may be right; and if they are, they are an example of the flexibility of the Roman language in expressing a slight difference. It is *not owing to* 'videor' being used that the subjunctive is used; for 'videor' expresses a man's opinion or the common opinion. When a Roman lawyer gives a 'responsum,' he generally uses the word 'videtur' to express what we call the better opinion; as in Dig. 15, tit. 3, s. 16, and numerous other places; and in Cicero (Verr. ii. 2, c. 38, 'corrupisse videri').

*Sociorum,* &c.] The meaning of the term 'socii,' as applied to the Italians, requires an historical explanation. (De Am. c. 3, note.) It is here used to signify the native inhabitants of a Roman province. They are called 'genus humanissimum' because these Asiatic cities had long been the seat of an intelligent people, who cultivated commerce and all the arts.

The 'publicani' or farmers of the revenue were a powerful body in the Roman state. They were the monied men of the times, and formed almost an order of their own. They belonged to the equestrian class, from which Cicero sprung, and he had always defended their interests and endeavoured to keep them on good terms with the senate. The functions of the 'publicani' were the same as

inopiam stipendii aut rei frumentariae, nullam seditionem exercitus pertimescimus; quae persaepe sapientissimis viris acciderunt ut, quemadmodum gubernatores optimi vim tempestatis, sic illi fortunae impetum superare non possent. Tibi data est summa pax, summa tranquillitas, ita tamen ut ea dormientem gubernatorem vel obruere, vigilantem etiam delectare possit. 6. Constat enim ea provincia primum ex eo genere sociorum quod est ex hominum omni genere humanissimum: deinde ex eo genere civium, qui aut quod publicani sunt nos summa necessitudine attingunt, aut quod ita negotiantur ut locupletes sint nostri consulatus beneficio se incolumes fortunas habere arbitrantur.

II. 7. At enim inter hos ipsos exsistunt graves controversiae, multae nascuntur injuriae, magnae contentiones consequuntur. Quasi vero ego id putem non te aliquantum negotii sustinere. Intelligo permagnum esse negotium et maximi consilii; sed memento consilii me hoc

those of the French 'fermiers généraux' before the revolution of 1789, and the history of these 'farmers general' in France is the best commentary that we can have on the Roman system.

The 'negotiatores' were men who carried on the business of money lending and made large speculations in the provinces, and though they are distinct from the 'publicani,' they must have been intimately connected with them. They were the bankers of the day and the money-dealers, who fixed themselves at certain places in the provinces 'negotiandi causa' (Caesar, B. G. vii. 3). Cicero both here and elsewhere (Ad Att. ii. 16) distinguishes them from the 'publicani;' as he does in other passages from the 'mercatores,' who carried about their goods, and were also camp-followers. (Caesar, B. G. i. 1, 39; ii. 15; iii. 1; iv. 2; vi. 37; vii. 55.) These 'negotiatores,' as Cicero here says, were indebted to him for suppressing the conspiracy of Catiline in his consulship, and thus maintaining credit in Asia and elsewhere. The commercial operations of Asia were so considerable as to affect the state of credit at Rome, and a failure of the Asiatic 'negotiatores' would at any time derange the money market at Rome. (Cic. Pro Leg. Manil. 7; and Dureau de la Malle, Économie politique des Romains, ii. 390.)

2. *At enim*] "But you will say," a supposed objection, which Cicero answers in the next sentence. See De Sen. c. 6.—Ernesti thinks that 'id' should be erased before 'putem.' See c. 1.

esse negotium magis aliquanto quam fortunae putare. Quid est enim negotii continere eos quibus praesis, si te ipse contineas? Id autem sit magnum et difficile ceteris, sicut est difficillimum: tibi et fuit hoc semper facillimum et vero esse debuit, cujus natura talis est ut etiam sine doctrina videatur moderata esse potuisse; ea autem adhibita doctrina est quae vel vitiosissimam naturam excolere possit. Tu quum pecuniae, quum voluptati, quum omnium rerum cupiditati resistes ut facis, erit, credo, periculum ne improbum negotiatorem, paullo cupidiorem publicanum comprimere non possis. Nam Graeci quidem sic te ita viventem intuebuntur ut quendam ex annalium memoria aut etiam de caelo divinum hominem esse in provinciam delapsum putent. 8. Atque haec nunc, non ut facias sed ut te facere et fecisse gaudeas, scribo. Praeclarum est enim summo cum imperio fuisse in Asia triennium sic ut nullum te signum, nulla pictura,

*Videatur—potuisse;*] This verb 'possum' often causes great difficulties to students in rendering into English, owing to the confusion that is made between it and the use of our auxiliary verbs, as they are called. But 'possum' is a word of positive meaning, which contains the elementary notion of power (pot) and possibility; and when such forms as 'could,' 'could have,' or the like, appear in English, they are represented by some form of 'possum,' and not of the verb which depends upon 'possum.' Thus "potest fieri" means "it is possible," "it could be or can be done;" "potuit fieri," "it was possible," "it could have been done." The text may be translated, "you, whose natural disposition is such, that any one may believe that it could *have displayed self-restraint, even if it* had received no training or discipline." See c. 4, "videtur potuisse," and c. 5, "fieri potuit."

*Credo,*] Used in a kind of ironical manner. It is used in De Sen. 7, "credo, nisi," &c., in a different way; "granted, if you don't," &c.

*Sic te ita viventem—ut*] Here the word 'ita' has its proper function, of referring to the mode of life of Quintus, described in the preceding sentence; and 'sic' has 'ut' for its correlative.

*Summo cum imperio*] As propraetor Quintus had the 'imperium,' as to which term see the note on c. 7; and De Sen. c. 18, note.

*Triennium*] Ursino proposes to read 'biennium.'

*Signum,* &c.] Asia was rich in works of art, things which often attracted the cupidity of Roman

nullum vas, nulla vestis, nullum mancipium, nulla forma cujusquam, nulla conditio pecuniae, quibus rebus abundat ista provincia, ab summa integritate continentiaque deduxerit. 9. Quid autem reperiri tam eximium aut tam expetendum potest quam istam virtutem, moderationem animi, temperantiam, non latere in tenebris neque esse abditam, sed in luce Asiae, in oculis clarissimae provinciae, atque in auribus omnium gentium ac nationum esse positam? non itineribus tuis perterreri homines? non sumptu exhauriri? non adventu commoveri? esse quocunque veneris et publice et privatim maximam laetitiam, quum urbs custodem non tyrannum, domus hospitem non expilatorem recepisse videatur?

III. 10. His autem in rebus jam te usus ipse profecto

governors, as in the notorious case of Verres, the governor of Sicily. 'Signum' is a work of art made by cutting, and hence any hard material cut into form by the chisel, or the graving tool. Forcellini says that it is also used to signify a work of art that is cast; and the word may have obtained this extended signification. 'Statua' is more limited in signification; and has reference to a figure 'placed.' 'Vas' comprehends utensils, cups and the like, chased and ornamented. 'Mancipium,' which in its general sense is an object of property, for the transfer of the ownership of which the Romans used a peculiar form (Gaius i. 119), has sometimes the particular sense of 'slave;' but it means 'slave' simply as an object of property. "Conditio pecuniae" means literally "a state or condition of pecuniary circumstances." Süpfle translates 'conditio pecuniae,' '*opportunity* for enriching.' Perhaps *it means* here a bribe, an offer of *money*. (Comp. Cic. Verr. ii. 4, c. 7, 'neque ulla conditione,' &c.) 'Pecunia' in its proper and large sense means 'a property' (Gaius ii. 104): money is 'pecunia numerata.'

*Nulla pictura,*] 'Pictura' comprehends paintings and figures wrought on cloth with the needle. 'Tabula picta' is a painting, or 'tabula' simply. Cicero says (Verr. ii. 4, c. 1), "nego ullam picturam neque in tabula neque in textili," &c.

*Itineribus—perterreri*] Ursino would alter 'perterreri' to 'proteri,' but perhaps few persons will be disposed to follow him. Cicero alludes to the progresses of the Roman governors, with their trains, on which occasions the provincials were often called upon for contributions. When M. Cicero entered upon his government of Cilicia, he complained that his predecessor, Appius Claudius Pulcher, had exhausted it (Ad Att. vi. 1). A story in Plutarch's Life of Cato the Younger (c. 12, 13) will help to explain the text.

erudivit nequaquam satis esse ipsum has te habere virtutes, sed esse circumspiciendum diligenter ut in hac custodia provinciae non te unum sed omnes ministros imperii tui sociis et civibus et rei publicae praestare videare. Quamquam legatos habes eos qui ipsi per se habituri sint rationem dignitatis suae, de quibus honore et dignitate et aetate praestat Tubero, quem ego arbitror, praesertim quum scribat historiam, multos ex suis annalibus posse deligere quos velit et possit imitari: Allienus autem noster est quum animo et benevolentia tum vero etiam imitatione vivendi. Nam quid ego de Gratidio dicam? quem certo scio ita laborare de existimatione sua ut propter amorem in nos fraternum etiam de nostra laboret. 11. Quaestorem habes non tuo judicio delectum sed eum quem sors dedit. Hunc oportet et sua sponte esse moderatum, et tuis institutis ac praeceptis obtemperare. Quorum si quis forte esset sordidior, ferres eatenus quoad per se negligeret eas

3. *Praestare*] Means 'to answer for,' 'to be responsible for.' This is its active sense. Cicero says of a poor man (Ad Att. vi. 6): "Quem tamen ego praestare non possum, erat enim rex perpauper." He could not answer for the payments of so poor a king.

*Legatos*] The 'legati' here alluded to, 'persons commissioned,' were in a manner deputies or representatives of the governor. Tubero is L. Aelius Tubero, who had a son Quintus, a jurist, and also an historical writer. See Krause, Vitae et Frag. Vet. Hist. Rom. Cicero says of Tubero, "quum scribat historiam," "since he is a writer of history," and as he mentions his 'Annales,' the work of Tubero was one that was either now completed, or written to some extent.

*Suae,*] *Süpfle has* 'tuae,' the reasons for which, he says, appear from § 12, 14. Orelli only mentions one MS. that has 'tuae.' I think that the context shows that 'suae' is right.

*Nam—Gratidio*] As to 'nam,' see De Am. c. 27, note. Süpfle conjectures that Gratidius was a grandson of M. Gratidius of Arpinum, whose sister was Cicero's grandmother.

*Quaestorem habes*] The quaestor of a proconsul or propraetor was appointed by lot, as the passage shows, and others also (Cic. Divin. c. 19; Verr. ii. 1, c. 13; Ad Div. ii. 19). His duties chiefly related to the pecuniary accounts of the province, and to correspondence with the aerarium, or treasury at Rome.

*Eatenus quoad*] Cicero means to say, that the governor need not look narrowly into these matters,

leges quibus esset adstrictus; non ut ea potestate quam tu ad dignitatem permisisses ad quaestum uteretur. Neque enim mihi sane placet, praesertim quum hi mores tantum jam ad nimiam lenitatem et ad ambitionem incubuerint, scrutari te omnes sordes, excutere unum quemque eorum; sed quanta sit in quoque fides, tantum cuique committere. Atque inter hos, eos quos tibi comites et adjutores negotiorum publicorum dedit ipsa res publica, dumtaxat finibus iis praestabis quos ante praescripsi.

IV. 12. Quos vero aut ex domesticis convictionibus,

for which the quaestor was personally answerable, according to the terms by which the nature of his office bound him. The preposition 'tenus' is only attached to the pronominal forms in 'a,' as 'quatenus,' 'hactenus,' &c. 'Quoad' is generally used alone, without an adverb to which it refers.

*Hi mores*] "The habits of the present times," as Terence says (Phormio i. 2, 5), "ut nunc sunt mores."

The greatest difficulty in the Latin, and perhaps in all languages, is the rendering of particular words like 'ambitio,' which from a plain simple meaning, as that 'of going about,' in this instance, have by usage acquired a very complex signification. Cicero says, that "the habits of the present day have declined so much to excessive indulgence, and to seeking for popularity," &c. (See Verr. ii. 2, c. 40.) The notion of 'ambitio' will be best explained by reference to the history of 'ambitus,' or canvassing for the offices at Rome.

*Comites*] This word has a technical meaning. The 'comites' *of a governor* were those who were *immediately* attached to him in the *administration* of the province. See Cic. Verr. ii. 1, c. 25; Hor. i. Ep. viii., "comiti scribaeque Neronis." This is one of the many terms which passed from the republican to the imperial period, during the latter part of which certain high officers under the empire were called 'comites,' whence the modern 'count.' Many of the institutions of modern Europe arose from the practice of the later Roman empire, and had their names, and something of their character also, in the republican period. Süpfle says that 'comites,' like the word 'adjutores,' is to be referred to 'negotiorum.' I think not.

4. *Convictionibus,*] See what Cicero says of the word 'convivium,' De Sen. c. 13. 'Apparitionibus' means those who were 'apparitores;' and 'apparitores' were those who were in attendance on 'magistratus,' to do their bidding. They were of various kinds, with various names: for instance, a 'lictor' was an 'apparitor;' an interpreter was an 'apparitor' (Cic. Ad Div. xiii. 54); and a 'scriba' (Verr. ii. 3, c. 78). As an instance, see also De Sen. 16, 'viatores.' Such officers were not properly a part of the 'praetoria cohors,' or those directly attached

aut ex necessariis apparitionibus tecum esse voluisti, qui quasi ex cohorte praetoris appellari solent, horum non modo facta sed etiam dicta omnia praestanda nobis sunt. Sed habes eos tecum quos possis recte facientes facile diligere; minus consulentes existimationi tuae facillime coercere; a quibus rudis quum esses videtur potuisse tua liberalitas decipi: nam ut quisque est vir optimus, ita difficillime esse alios improbos suspicatur: nunc vero tertius hic annus habeat integritatem eandem quam superiores, cautiorem etiam ac diligentiorem. 13. Sint aures tuae quae id quod audiunt existimentur audire, non in quas ficte et simulate quaestus causa insusurretur. Sit anulus tuus non ut vas aliquod sed tamquam ipse tu; non minister alienae voluntatis sed testis tuae. Accensus sit eo numero quo eum majores nostri esse voluerunt, qui hoc non in beneficii loco sed in laboris ac muneris non temere nisi libertis suis deferebant; quibus illi quidem non multo secus ac servis imperabant. Sit lictor non suae sed tuae lenitatis apparitor; majoraque praeferant fasces illi ac secures dignitatis insignia quam potestatis. Toti denique

to the governor, who were the 'comites;' but they are here called "quasi ex cohorte praetoris," to denote their inferior condition. The 'cohors' contained, besides official persons, young Romans of family, who attended the governor as volunteers. Comp. Hor. i. Ep. iii. 6, "Quid studiosa cohors operum struit?"

*Rudis*] Süpfle compares 'non provinciae rudis erat et tiro' (Cic. Verr. ii. 2, c. 6).

*Sint aures*, &c.] Here we have 'quae . . . existimentur,' with a clause of positive affirmation, "id quod audiunt" interposed. "Let ears such as are supposed to listen to what they *hear be yours*, not ears," &c.

*Anulus*] That is, the seal of the governor, which he must not allow to be used, like some common utensil. It is conjectured that 'minister' may allude to one Statius, a freed man of Quintus, who was supposed to abuse his master's confidence.

*Accensus*] He was an apparitor, and attended when the governor sat as judge to make proclamations in the court, and the like. See c. 4, above. As to 'deferebant,' see De Am. c. 20.

*Majora praeferant*] This seems to mean, 'let those fasces and secures be the display of the symbols of rank rather than of power.' So Mr. Macleane explains it in his note on Hor. Carm. iii. 20.

sit provinciae cognitum tibi omnium quibus praesis salutem, liberos, famam, fortunas esse carissimas. Denique haec opinio sit, non modo iis qui aliquid acceperint sed iis etiam qui dederint te inimicum, si id cognoveris, futurum. Neque vero quisquam dabit, quum erit hoc perspectum, nihil per eos qui simulant se apud te multum posse abs te solere impetrari. 14. Nec tamen haec oratio mea est ejusmodi ut te in tuos aut durum esse nimium aut suspiciosum velim. Nam si quis est eorum, qui tibi biennii spatio numquam in suspicionem avaritiae venerit, ut ego Caesium et Chaerippum et Labeonem et audio et, quia cognovi, existimo, nihil est quod non et iis et si quis est alius ejusdemmodi et committi et credi rectissime putem. Sed si quis est in quo jam offenderis, de quo aliquid senseris, huic nihil credideris, nullam partem existimationis tuae commiseris.

V. 15. In provincia vero ipsa, si quem es nactus qui in tuam familiaritatem penitus intrarit, qui nobis ante fuerit ignotus, huic quantum credendum sit vide; non quin possint multi esse provinciales viri boni; sed hoc sperare licet, judicare periculosum est. Multis enim simulationum involucris tegitur et quasi velis quibusdam obtenditur unius cujusque natura: frons, oculi, vultus persaepe mentiuntur; oratio vero saepissime. Quamobrem qui potes repe-

*Huic nihil credideris,*] This form of the subjunctive is a kind of command or wish: "huic nihil credideris," "I would not have you to trust such a one at all." With the second person of the present, it is less common, and is said to be used in a more general or indefinite way; "isto bono utare dum adsit," &c. De Sen. c. 10. See Key's Grammar, 1175.

5. *Non quin possint*] As to the use of 'quin,' see De Sen. c. 17. This expression is elliptical, the verb which should go with 'non' being omitted; as we say 'not but there may be,' which means 'I do not say that there are not.'

*Provinciales*] He comprehends under this term both Italians in the province and natives. What immediately follows refers to Italians in the province; and he speaks of the Greeks afterwards.

*Quamobrem qui — simulent?*] Lambinus amends the passage, which he says is not intelligible. P. Manutius denies that "qui po-

rire ex eo genere hominum, qui pecuniae cupiditate adducti careant iis rebus omnibus, a quibus nos divulsi esse non possumus, te autem alienum hominem ament ex animo ac non sui commodi causa simulent? Mihi quidem permagnum videtur; praesertim si iidem homines privatum non fere quemquam, praetores semper omnes amant. Quo ex genere si quem forte tui cognosti amantiorem, fieri enim potuit, quam temporis, hunc vero ad tuum numerum libenter adscribito: sin autem id non perspicies, nullum genus erit in familiaritate cavendum magis: propterea quod et omnes vias pecuniae norunt et omnia pecuniae causa faciunt; et quicum victuri non sunt, ejus existimationi consulere non curant. 16. Atque etiam e Graecis

cuniae," &c. refers to "ex eo genere hominum," &c. "Wherefore how you can find among such a class of men (those) who, from greed of gain, do without all those things from which we can never detach ourselves, and yet love you a stranger sincerely, and do not pretend affection for their own interest?" But the question is 'find whom?' for all that the sentence determines is a class among whom he must look in order to find. 'Qui pecuniae,' &c. and 'te .. ament,' &c. refer to a suppressed 'eos,' just as we may say "non possum reperire qui me ament." The addition of "ex eo genere" merely limits the persons among whom one has to look. The words "quo ex genere," which follow, clearly refer to "ex eo genere;" and as Cicero here admits, the possibility of some of the 'id genus' having more affection for Quintus than regard to their own interest, it follows that the "ex eo genere" is a class referred to (provinciales), and not a class defined by 'qui pecuniae.' Süpfle explains 'qui pecuniae . . . careant' correctly, I think, as follows: "such Provinciales, Romans, who for the sake of gain remain many years in the province, renounce every thing which others cannot live without, country, friends, in short all the nobler pleasures and enjoyments which the true Roman thought that he could find only in Rome."

*Tuum numerum*] There is also a reading 'tuorum numerum.'

*Adscribito:*] This is the form which Professor Key called the 'imperative,' being the stronger and more authoritative form; 'you shall, you must,' &c. The other, and less authoritative form, 'adscribe,' he calls the 'jussive.' Grammar, 592. As to this use of 'adscribere,' compare Horace i. Ep. ix. 13, "scribe tui gregis hunc et fortem crede bonumque."

*E Graecis*] This shows that the 'provinciales' of whom he has just been speaking, these money-loving men, were not Greeks, but the Roman 'negotiatores,' men whose love of lucre was unbounded.

ipsis diligenter cavendae sunt quaedam familiaritates, praeter hominum perpaucorum, si qui sunt vetere Graecia digni. Sic vero fallaces sunt permulti et leves et diuturna servitute ad nimiam assentationem eruditi. Quos ego universos adhiberi liberaliter, optimum quemque hospitio amicitiaque conjungi dico oportere: nimiae familiaritates eorum neque tam fideles sunt, non enim audent adversari nostris voluntatibus, et [vero] invident non nostris solum verum etiam suis.

VI. 17. Jam qui in ejusmodi rebus in quibus vereor etiam ne durior sim cautus esse velim ac diligens, quo me animo in servis esse censes? quos quidem quum omnibus in locis tum praecipue in provinciis regere debemus. Quo de genere multa praecipi possunt; sed hoc et brevissimum est et facillime teneri potest, ut ita se gerant in istis

*Sic vero*] 'Sic' is rightly explained by P. Manutius as "times now go."

*Adhiberi liberaliter,*] He recommends all to be honourably treated, 'liberally,' as we say. Cicero says in another place (Verr. ii. 5, c. 27): "ut is victu liberalissime adhiberetur."

*Tam fideles*] Ernesti has a suspicion that 'tam' should be 'jam;' a very ill-founded one. It is one of Cicero's common expressions (Verr. Act. i. c. 7; ii. 2, c. 26). 'Tam' is used like 'ita,' De Sen. 20, "non ita longa;" Ad Q. Fr. c. 11, "non ita acerbum." As to "neque tam et—[vero]," &c. see De Am. c. 27. The 'vero' before 'invident' seems out of place. See Orelli's note.

6. *Diligens,*] A word sometimes mistranslated. See what is said of 'diligo' and 'amo,' De Am. c. 27. '*Diligens*' implies separation, selection, and hence care, attention, exactness. Shortly after Cicero says "delectus . . . percautus et diligens."

*In servis*] The reading 'in servos' is wrong. The meaning is 'in the matter of slaves.'

*Ut ita—ut si*] The first 'ut' refers to a praeceptum, one of the things "quae praecipi possunt," and is followed, according to the usage in such cases, by the subjunctive 'gerant.' The 'ita' and the second 'ut' show the terms of the comparison, the second term of which contains an 'if' (si), as in De Am. 16, "ita amare . . . ut si aliquando esset osurus."

A difficulty has been made about 'faceres,' and it has been supposed that 'facias' ought to be in its place; but the translation would not be the same. It means "they must behave in those progresses of yours in Asia, just as they would have done if you had been travelling along the Appia via." They must behave when they have come to an Asiatic town, Trallis, for

Asiaticis itineribus ut si iter Appia via faceres, neve interesse quidquam putent utrum Trallis an Formias venerint. Ac si quis est ex servis egregie fidelis, sit in domesticis rebus et privatis: quae res ad officium imperii tui atque ad aliquam partem rei publicae pertinebunt, de iis rebus ne quid attingat. Multa enim quae recte committi servis fidelibus possunt, tamen sermonis et vituperationis vitandae causa committenda non sunt. 18. Sed nescio quo pacto ad praecipiendi rationem delapsa est oratio mea, quum id mihi propositum initio non fuisset. Quid enim ei praecipiam quem ego in hoc praesertim genere intelligam prudentia non esse inferiorem quam me, usu vero etiam superiorem? Sed tamen si ad ea quae faceres auctoritas accederet mea, tibi ipsa illa putavi fore jucundiora. Quare sint haec fundamenta dignitatis tuae; tua primum integritas et continentia: deinde omnium qui tecum sunt pudor: delectus in familiaritatibus et provincialium hominum et Graecorum percautus et diligens: familiae gravis et constans disciplina. 19. Quae quum honesta sint in his privatis nostris quotidianisque rationibus, in tanto imperio, tam depravatis moribus, tam corruptrice provincia, divina videantur necesse est. Haec institutio atque haec disciplina potest sustinere in rebus statuendis et decernendis eam severitatem qua tu in iis rebus usus es ex quibus nonnullas simultates cum magna mea laetitia susceptas habemus. Nisi forte me Paconii nescio cujus hominis ne Graeci quidem ac Mysii aut Phrygis potius querelis moveri putas; aut Tuscenii ho-

instance, as if they had come to an Italian town, Formiae, for instance.

*Nescio quo pacto*] A little farther on there is 'nescio cujus.' 'Nescio' and 'quis' go together as one word; just as 'sunt qui,' 'est qui,' in certain cases.

*Familiae*] *His own household*, for that is the widest sense of the term: all who were under him as a 'paterfamilias.' But here he is speaking of slaves, for they were comprehended under 'familia.'

*Ac Mysii aut Phrygis*, &c.] Some MSS. have 'at,' others have 'sed.' 'Ac' and 'at' seem to be often confounded in the MSS.

minis furiosi ac sordidi vocibus, cujus tu ex impurissimis faucibus inhonestissimam cupiditatem eripuisti summa cum aequitate.

VII. 20. Haec et cetera plena severitatis, quae statuisti in ista provincia, non facile sine summa integritate sustineremus. Quare sit summa in jure dicundo severitas, dummodo ea ne varietur gratia, sed conservetur aequabilis. Sed tamen parvi refert abs te ipso jus dici aequabiliter et diligenter, nisi idem ab iis fiet quibus tu ejus muneris aliquam partem concesseris. Ac mihi quidem videtur non sane magna varietas esse negotiorum in administranda Asia, sed ea tota jurisdictione maxime sustineri. In qua scientiae praesertim provincialis ratio ipsa expedita est: constantia est adhibenda et gravitas quae resistat non solum gratiae verum etiam suspicioni. 21. Adjungenda etiam est facilitas in audiendo, lenitas in decernendo, in

7. *In jure dicundo*] He "qui jus dicit" was said to have 'jurisdictio,' to have the power of declaring the law. Quintus, having the 'summum imperium,' had consequently the complete judicial authority in the sense in which the Romans understood it, and as it is defined Dig. 2, tit. 1, De Jurisdictione. Cicero is here referring to the conduct of Quintus in his 'jurisdictio;' and the advice which he gives is that "he observe the greatest strictness (severitas) in the discharge of his jurisdictio, provided this strictness is never departed from through favour, but is maintained invariably the same." If "in jure dicundo" is translated "in the administration of justice," it is not quite exact, for the office of him who had jurisdictio extended to other matters than matters in *dispute*. For instance, certain acts were only valid if done before him, as manumissio and adoptio.

*Ea tota*, &c.] 'Ea tota' refers to Asia, the burthen of the administration of which, Cicero observes, lies chiefly in the jurisdictio.

*Facilitas in audiendo*, &c.] Here the qualities of a good judge are enumerated. He must be ready to listen. He must be mild in making his judgments (lenitas in decernendo, for this is the true reading, not discernendo). What follows is not so clear. 'Disputando' is doubtful, and Manutius conjectures that it should be 'disceptando.' 'Disceptator,' as Cicero (Orat. Part. c. 3) defines the word, is "rei sententiaeque moderator." Again Cicero says (De Re Publica v. 2) "nec vero quisquam privatus erat disceptator aut arbiter litis sed omnia conficiebantur judiciis regiis." Manutius explains 'satisfaciendo' to refer to the care of the judge in satisfying all parties, that is, as far as he can. "'Satisfaciendo ac disputando' in one

satisfaciendo ac disputando diligentia. His rebus nuper C. Octavius jucundissimus fuit, apud quem primus lictor quievit, tacuit accensus; quoties quisque voluit dixit et quam voluit diu. Quibus ille rebus fortasse nimis lenis videretur, nisi haec lenitas illam severitatem tueretur. Cogebantur Sullani homines quae per vim et metum abstulerant reddere. Qui in magistratibus injuriose decreve-

ject apparently, like 'audiendis admittendisque' (c. 11), referring to the investigation of a case before the parties. It is not enough to give his decision, but he must enter into the merits, and satisfy them if they are reasonable, and do his best to do so, if they are not" (Communication from Mr. Macleane). Süpfle's explanation is the same in substance.

*C. Octavius*] Some MSS. have Cn., but Caius Octavius the proconsul of Macedonia is meant, the father of him who became the Emperor Augustus. Cicero here alludes to his praetorship at Rome, B.C. 61. He seems to have had the rare faculty of not being impatient, and of letting his suitors have their talk out, instead of continually interfering and meddling, as some judges do.

The 'primus lictor' is explained by Lipsius (Op. 1, p. 727, ed. 1675) to be the lictor who marched first, whose business was to clear the way—'submovere.' But perhaps the true reading is 'proximus,' of which 'primus' in the MSS. may be merely an abbreviation. The expression "proximus lictor" occurs on an inscription; and in Sallust (Bell. Jug. 12), and in Cicero (De Divin. i. 28; Verr. ii. 5, c. 54). He was the first lictor in rank, who held most immediate communication with the praetor. In the court of Octavius this lictor had nothing to do; the 'accensus,' or crier, had not to bawl out silence and to be continually making a noise under the pretence of suppressing it. All was quiet and orderly without the aid of these officious personages.

*Videretur,—tueretur.*] See a little further on 'videretur . . . mitigaretur.' These tenses must be translated "might have seemed;" "if he had not maintained," &c.; and so in the other passage. Cicero is not speaking of single things, but of a continued state of things.

*Sullani homines*] These were the men who were enriched during Sulla the dictator's arbitrary rule; men who in this season of proscription got others put to death in order to lay hands on their property. See Plutarch's Life of Sulla; and Cicero, Cat. ii. c. 9. The word 'cogebantur' shows that Cicero had in his mind the Octaviana formula, says Rudorff (Cic. Verr. ii. 3, c. 65).

*In magistratibus*] Those who while they held office had made any judgments (decreta) contrary to law, were compelled after they returned to a private condition to abide by the law (jure) as they had themselves declared it. Cicero says (Verr. ii. 3, c. 6): "Siciliae civitates sic in amicitiam fidemque recepimus ut eodem jure essent quo fuissent, eadem conditione Populo

rant, eodem ipsis privatis erat jure parendum. Haec illius severitas acerba videretur, nisi multis condimentis humanitatis mitigaretur. 22. Quod si haec lenitas grata Romae est, ubi tanta arrogantia est, tam immoderata libertas, tam infinita hominum licentia, denique tot magistratus, tot auxilia, tanta vis [populi], tanta Senatus auctoritas; quam jucunda tandem praetoris comitas in Asia potest esse, in qua tanta multitudo civium, tanta sociorum, tot urbes, tot civitates unius hominis nutum intuentur; ubi nullum auxilium est, nulla conquestio, nullus Senatus, nulla contio? Quare quum permagni hominis est et quum ipsa natura moderati tum vero etiam doctrina atque optimarum artium studiis eruditi, sic se adhibere in tanta potestate ut nulla alia potestas ab iis quibus is praesit desideretur.

VIII. 23. Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiae

Romano parerent qua suis antea paruissent."

*Quod si haec lenitas*, &c.] The reasons given for this 'lenitas' being agreeable at Rome, seem to Manutius rather strange. The 'lenitas' was in the manner of Octavius, for he was strict (severus) in his judgments. Now his manner was liked even at Rome, where arrogance, unbridled freedom, and unlimited licence prevailed, that is, his gentle qualities were admired though they might not be imitated; and these judicial merits of his were not the less esteemed on account of their being of less importance at Rome, where there were so many other magistrates, so many kinds of appeal (auxilia), &c. It is not then, as Manutius thinks, that we might suppose that his good qualities ought to have been esteemed the less, because *those who* were wronged by *him had* a remedy; but he was esteemed for his merits, even in a place where such merits were not common, and where the absence of them was less mischievous, because there was a remedy against the ill-conduct of any one magistratus in the various powers which were centered at Rome. But there was no magistrate in the provinces, no authority to which a man could appeal from the governor: 'praetor improbus,' says Cicero, 'cui nemo intercedere possit' (Verr. ii. 2, c. 12). "How much more valuable," says Cicero, "would such qualities be in Asia?" &c. This seems to be the meaning of the passage.

8. *Cyrus ille*, &c.] See De Sen. c. 9. Africanus is Scipio Africanus the younger. (De Sen. c. 17.) This sentence is an instance of irregular construction, of which there are examples both in ancient and modern writers. There is nothing for 'quos quidem libros' to refer to; and after the comple-

fidem scriptus sed ad effigiem justi imperii, cujus summa gravitas ab illo philosopho cum singulari comitate conjungitur,—quos quidem libros non sine causa noster ille Africanus de manibus ponere non solebat, nullum est enim praetermissum in iis officium diligentis et moderati imperii—eaque si sic coluit ille qui privatus futurus numquam fuit, quonam modo retinenda sunt iis quibus imperium ita datum est ut redderent, et ab iis legibus datum est ad quas revertendum est? 24. Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia esse referenda iis qui praesunt aliis, ut ii qui erunt in eorum imperio sint quam beatissimi: quod tibi et esse antiquissimum, et ab initio fuisse ut primum Asiam attigisti, constante fama atque omnium sermone celebratum est. Est autem non modo ejus qui sociis et civibus, sed etiam ejus qui servis, qui mutis pecudibus praesit, eorum quibus praesit commodis utilitatique servire. 25. Cujus quidem generis constare inter omnes video abs te summam adhiberi diligentiam: nullum aes alienum novum contrahi

tion of this disjointed sentence with the words 'moderati imperii,' there is nothing for the word 'ea' to refer to, except the general sense, which may be collected from what has immediately preceded. Süpfle refers 'eaque' to 'officium . . . imperii.'

*Antiquissimum,*] 'Antiquus,' or 'anticus,' that which is front or foremost, corresponds to 'posticus,' that which comes behind. The sense of 'first and foremost,' which 'antiquissimum' has in this passage, is therefore its primitive meaning; and 'most ancient' is a derived meaning.

*Ut primum—attigisti,*] 'Ut' has this sense: "from the time when you first set foot in Asia," even without 'primum,' and is generally followed in such case by the *perfect indicative. It is*, as Professor Key remarks, only a form of 'quod,' the original form of 'ut' being 'cut.' As to the various usages of 'ut,' see the exposition in Key's Latin Grammar, 1457.

*Celebratum est.*] A word somewhat difficult to render, partly because we have an English word from it, with a vague meaning. 'Celebro' is 'to frequent,' 'to fill, as a crowd does.' Wherever this word or any form of the word, as 'celebris,' 'celebritas,' occurs, there is the notion of many persons or many things, not a repetition by a single person, or of single things.

*Nullum aes — novum*] These provincial cities were often loaded with heavy debt, which may have originated in various ways; sometimes through the extortion of

**civitatibus: vetere autem magno et gravi multas abs te esse liberatas: urbes complures dirutas ac paene desertas, in quibus unam Ioniae nobilissimam, alteram Cariae, Samum et Halicarnassum, per te esse recreatas: nullas esse in oppidis seditiones, nullas discordias: provideri abs te ut civitates optimatium consiliis administrentur: sublata Mysiae latrocinia: caedes multis locis repressas: pacem tota provincia constitutam: neque solum illa itinerum atque agrorum, sed multo etiam plura et majora oppidorum et fanorum furta et latrocinia esse depulsa: remotam a fama et a fortunis et ab otio locupletium illam acerbissimam ministram praetorum avaritiae calumniam:**

the Roman governors; sometimes through such contributions as are mentioned in the next chapter. Cicero (Ad Att. v. 21) mentions the towns of Asia getting relief from their debts. This money was often borrowed from wealthy Romans, of which we have a remarkable instance in the case of Salamis in Cyprus, a town which borrowed money from two Romans at 48 per cent.; but the real lender was M. Brutus, afterwards the assassin of Caesar. The story is told by Cicero (Ad Att. v. 21; vi. 1, 2, 3); and there is a discussion of the question by Savigny, Vermischte Schriften, i. 386.

*Samum*, &c.] Samos, the chief town of the island of Samos. It does not appear how the money was raised for the restoration of these cities: the usual way was by borrowing. Probably public buildings and useful public works were gone to decay, and were restored by Quintus. The correspondence of Pliny, while he was governor of *Bithynia* (Ep. lib. x.) with the *Emperor* Trajan, contains several *examples* of the care of the Roman governor to restore the decayed towns and to improve them.

*Optimatium*] 'Optimates' is one of Cicero's names for the party at Rome which he supported, the aristocratic class. Here he means a corresponding class in the cities of Asia, the more respectable class, as the class who claim the title call themselves. These Asiatic cities had a democratic constitution, and Cicero in his aristocratic tone complains that in some of them, shoemakers, belt-makers, artizans, and shopkeepers (Pro Flacco, c. 7, 8) had taken part in the public deliberations.

*Mysiae*] Mr. Macleane reminds me that Μυσῶν λεία is a proverb. (Dem. Pro Cor. p. 248, and the explanations of the commentators.) Cicero means, I suppose, robberies in Mysia, in the lowlands. The robbers occupied the highlands.

*Calumniam:*] The word 'calumnia' contains the same root as the verb 'caluo' (calvo), 'to cheat, to deceive,' as we learn from the Latin grammarians. (See Forcellini, Calvo.) But the original meaning of 'calvo' or 'calvor' is to

sumptus et tributa civitatum ab omnibus qui earum civitatum fines incolant tolerari aequabiliter: facillimos esse aditus ad te: patere aures tuas querelis omnium: nullius inopiam ac solitudinem non modo illo populari accessu ac tribunali, sed ne domo quidem et cubiculo esse exclusam tuo; toto denique [in] imperio nihil acerbum esse, nihil crudele, atque omnia plena clementiae, mansuetudinis, humanitatis.

IX. 26. Quantum vero illud est beneficium tuum, quod iniquo et gravi vectigali Aedilicio cum magnis nostris simultatibus Asiam liberasti. Etenim si unus homo nobilis

put some impediment in the way: "si calvitur pedemve struit." (Dirksen, Uebersicht, &c., der Zwölf-Tafel-Fragmente, p. 144); and Gaius (Dig. 50, tit. 16, s. 233.) The termination belongs to the same class of words as 'alumnus,' 'autumnus,' &c. 'Calumniari,' as defined by a Roman jurist (Marcian, Dig. 48, tit. 16, s. 1), is 'to make a false charge;' and Paulus (Rec. Sent. i. 5, 1) defines 'calumniosus' to be one "who knowingly and purposely and with fraudulent design schemes to trouble another." Comp. Gaius, iv. 178. Cicero means to say "that the getting up of false charges against persons, that most grievous way of ministering to a praetor's avarice, under the government of Quintus never troubled the good name, fortune, or tranquillity of the wealthy."

*Sumptus et tributa*] "The expenditure and the taxation were borne equally, fairly by all." 'Tributum' here means taxes generally, whatever they might be.

*Tribunali,*] The tribunal was the place where the governor sat when he exercised *jurisdictio*. It was capable of containing many persons, for others besides the praetor or magistratus, 'qui jus dicebat,' sometimes sat by him; on the bench, as we say.

9. *Vectigali Aedilicio*] It appears from this passage and others (Ad Div. ii. 11; viii. 6, 8, 9; Ad Att. v. 21; vi. 1) that the provinces were required to contribute to the expenses of the magnificent games with which the aediles amused the people at Rome. The money appears to have been called for by the governors under the name of a gift, a benevolence, which could not be refused. Quintus by an 'edictum,' or rule made during his administration, declared that no money should be raised for this purpose. This gave occasion to a Roman noble to say that he had been defrauded of his money. Statues and pictures were borrowed from the Greek towns for the games or exhibitions at Rome; and sometimes they were not restored. Süpfle refers to the SC. mentioned by Livy (xl. 44), which limited the sums to be expended at the ludi.

*Nobilis*] Had a fixed political meaning. A Roman noble was a man whose ancestors had enjoyed

queritur palam te quod edixeris, NE AD LUDOS PECUNIAE DECERNERENTUR, H-S CC sibi eripuisse, quanta tandem pecunia penderetur, si omnium nomine quicumque Romae ludos facerent quod erat jam institutum erŏgaretur? Quamquam has querelas hominum nostrorum illo consilio oppressimus, quod in Asia nescio quonam modo Romae quidem non mediocri cum admiratione laudatur, quod— quum ad templum monumentumque nostrum civitates pecunias decrevissent, quumque id et pro meis magnis merĭtis et pro tuis maximis beneficiis summa sua voluntate fecissent, nominatimque lex exciperet UT AD TEMPLUM MONUMENTUM[QUE] CAPERE LICERET, quumque id quod

a curule office, or who had enjoyed one himself. Cicero, who originally belonged to the equestrian ordo, was still 'novus homo,' a new man: he had no noble ancestors (Verr. ii. 5, c. 70). It seems that Cicero became 'nobilis' when he obtained the curule aedileship (Verr. ii. 5, c. 14; De Lege Agr. ii. 1). A 'novus homo' was the first of his family who became 'nobilis' by obtaining a curule magistracy.

*H-S cc*] Simply 200 sestertii, as the text stands, but there is constantly error in these numerals. Some larger number is meant here, and it cannot be less than 200,000 sestertii.

*Erogaretur?*] "What an amount of money would be paid, if it should be demanded on behalf of every person who has to give 'ludi' at Rome." 'Erogare' signifies sometimes 'to expend,' 'to pay.' Its primary meaning seems to be to demand a payment, or ask for money for payment; and thence 'to supply money,' and so Livy, i. 20, has "*unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur.*" It is probable that '*erogare*' may originally, like 'rogare' and other compounds, have signified to ask of the populus in the comitia. But if this be so, its original meaning was dropped in Cicero's time.

*Ut ad templum*, &c.] This is a citation from a lex, from one of those which related to repetundae or the offence of a governor taking money or other things improperly from the provincials. The 'que' after 'monumentum' should be omitted, conformably to the style of Roman legislation. Cicero says that they had stopped these complaints at Rome by refusing the honour of a temple and a memorial of some kind for which the cities (of Asia) had voted money, though the law allowed money to be applied to such a purpose. Cicero, in his orations against Verres (ii. 2, c. 57) speaks of Verres having got money on pretence of erecting statues to himself; and it seems that if he expended the money in this way within five years, the transaction was not illegal. The adulation of the provincials went further under the emperors.

dabatur non esset interiturum, sed in ornamentis templi futurum, ut non mihi potius quam populo Romano ac Diis immortalibus datum videretur—tamen id in quo erat dignitas, erat lex, erat eorum qui faciebant voluntas, accipiendum non putavi, quum aliis de causis tum etiam ut animo aequiore ferrent ii quibus nec deberetur nec liceret. 27. Quapropter incumbe toto animo et studio omni in eam rationem qua adhuc usus es, ut eos quos tuae fidei potestatique Senatus populusque Romanus commisit et credidit diligas, et omni ratione tueare ut esse quam beatissimos velis. Quod si te sors Afris aut Hispanis aut Gallis praefecisset, immanibus ac barbaris nationibus, tamen esset humanitatis tuae consulere eorum commodis et utilitati salutique servire. Quum vero ei generi hominum praesimus, non modo in quo ipsa sit sed etiam a quo ad alios pervenisse putetur humanitas, certe iis eam potissimum tribuere debemus a quibus accepimus. 28. Non enim me hoc jam dicere pudebit, praesertim in ea vita atque in iis rebus gestis in quibus non potest residere inertiae aut

*Quibus nec deberetur nec liceret.*] This use of the subjunctive does not depend on the 'ut—ferrent.' If Cicero had used the indicative, he would not have expressed himself with the generality which he intended. Comp. a passage in the oration Pro Cn. Plancio, c. 26, "me unum ex iis feci qui ad aquas venissent." This use of the subjunctive seems to depend partly on the subordinate position given to the words, when they are placed at the end of a clause. If Cicero had intended to speak particularly of those who visited the waters, the form of the sentence would have been different. Here he does not mention the aediles, but he means them.

*Ipsa sit — humanitas,*] Orelli has 'ipso.' 'Humanitas' is properly the characteristic of the human animal 'homo;' but it has various significations in the Roman writers. It is here used in a sense, which the following sentence explains, to signify the temper and disposition which are formed by the cultivation of letters and of the liberal arts. Cicero ascribes his own success in life to the study of the literary productions of the Greek (monumenta) and to the following of the Greek discipline in his philosophical and oratorical pursuits. Matthiae compares the passage in Pliny's Letters (viii. 24): "Habe ante oculos," &c. As to 'humanitas,' see Gellius xiv. 16.

levitatis ulla suspicio, nos ea quae consecuti sumus iis studiis et artibus esse adeptos, quae sint nobis Graeciae monumentis disciplinisque traditae. Quare praeter communem fidem quae omnibus debetur, praeterea nos isti hominum generi praecipue debere videmur, ut quorum praeceptis sumus eruditi apud eos ipsos quod ab iis didicerimus velimus expromere.

X. 29. Atque ille quidem princeps ingenii et doctrinae Plato tum denique fore beatas res publicas putavit, si aut docti ac sapientes homines eas regere coepissent, aut ii qui regerent omne suum studium in doctrina ac sapientia collocassent. Hanc conjunctionem videlicet potestatis ac sapientiae saluti censuit civitatibus esse posse. Quod fortasse aliquando universae rei publicae nostrae, nunc quidem profecto isti provinciae contigit, ut is in ea summam potestatem haberet cui in doctrina cui in virtute atque humanitate percipienda plurimum a pueritia studii fuisset et temporis. 30. Quare cura ut hic annus qui ad laborem tuum accessit idem ad salutem Asiae prorogatus esse videatur; quoniam[que] in te retinendo fuit Asia felicior quam nos in deducendo, perfice ut laetitia provinciae desiderium nostrum leniatur. Etenim si in promerendo ut tibi tanti honores haberentur, quanti haud scio an nemini, fuisti omnium diligentissimus, multo majorem in his honoribus tuendis adhibere diligentiam debes. 31. Equidem de isto genere honorum quid sentirem scripsi ad te ante. Semper eos putavi, si vulgāres essent, viles; si temporis causa constituerentur, leves; si vero, id quod ita

10. *Plato*] A passage to this effect occurs in one of the letters attributed to Plato, and in the Republic. The vision of the philosopher, as to the "docti ac sapientes" having the administration of states, is not accomplished yet.

*Universae*] Süpfle says, "it is not unlikely that Cicero here alludes to himself and his consulship." His modesty would not let him say more.

*Haud scio an nemini,*] See De Sen. c. 16.

*Temporis causa*] See c. 5; and De Am. c. 8.

factum est, meritis tuis tribuerentur, existimabam multam tibi in iis honoribus tuendis operam esse ponendam. Quare quoniam in istis urbibus cum summo imperio et potestate versaris, in quibus tuas virtutes consecratas et in deorum numero collocatas vides, in omnibus rebus quas statues, quas decernes, quas ages, quid tantis hominum opinionibus, tantis de te judiciis, tantis honoribus debeas, cogitabis. Id autem erit ejusmodi ut consŭlas omnibus, ut medeare incommodis hominum, provideas saluti, ut te parentem Asiae et dici et haberi velis.

XI. 32. Atque huic tuae voluntati ac diligentiae difficultatem magnam afferunt publicani, quibus si adversamur, ordinem de nobis optime meritum et per nos cum re publica conjunctum et a nobis et a re publica dijungemus. Sin autem omnibus in rebus obsequemur, funditus eos perire patiemur quorum non modo saluti sed etiam commodis consulere debemus. Haec est una, si vere cogitare volumus, in toto imperio tuo difficultas. Nam esse abstinentem, continere omnes cupiditates, suos coercere, juris aequabilem tenere rationem, facilem se in rebus cognoscendis, in hominibus audiendis admittendisque praebere,

*Cum summo imperio*, &c.] See De Sen. c. 18. These words express the complete authority of a governor. Süpfle truly remarks that Quintus had no army and no wars on hand (c. 1). He compares another passage of Cicero (Phil. i. 7): "qui togatus in re publica cum potestate imperioque versatus sit;" and (Cat. i. 11): "ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit." The military notion which boys are taught to attach to this word is a blunder.

11. *Publicani*,] He calls them an 'ordo,' as the senators were called an 'ordo,' and the equites. The 'publicani' belonged, as already observed, to the 'equestris ordo,' and they supported Cicero in his proceedings in the affair of Catiline, whose designs tended to the destruction of all credit. Cicero's character of them is not a good one; for he says that if Quintus let them have their own way, these farmers of the taxes would oppress the province. The management of these greedy fellows was the great difficulty in the administration of Quintus.

*In rebus cognoscendis*,] This means, in hearing and determining such matters as came before him, particularly in his 'jurisdictio.'

praeclarum magis est quam difficile. Non est enim positum in labore aliquo sed in quadam inductione animi atque voluntate. 33. Illa causa publicanorum quantam acerbitatem afferat sociis intelleximus ex civibus, qui nuper in portoriis Italiae tollendis non tam de portorio quam de nonnullis injuriis portitorum querebantur. Quare non

*Quadam inductione*] Süpfle compares Cicero (Tusc. Disp. ii. 13): "cedet profecto virtuti dolor et animi inductione languescet." He explains 'animi inductio' to mean 'habit.' Others take it to mean 'resolution.' In another place (Ad Div. i. 8) Cicero says "tantum enim animi inductio et mehercule amor erga Pompeium apud me valet," &c. In the De Am. c. 16, there is "animum excitet inducatque in spem," which helps to explain 'inductio animi,' which is opposed to 'labor,' and placed by the side of 'voluntas' or 'will.' It means, then, that effort of the mind which we call 'will,' or which produces 'will.' It may be translated 'in giving a certain turn or direction to the mind and in the will.'

*Portoriis*] 'In tollendis' means when the question was debated in the senate of the repeal of the Portoria. 'Portoria' were duties levied on goods imported and exported by sea, and in their transit through a country, as for instance in passing a bridge (Sueton. Vitell. c. 14; Dig. 24, tit. 1, s. 21, and 19, tit. 2, s. 60. § 8), or at certain barriers. In Sicily a twentieth was paid. See the passage in Pliny, Hist. Nat. xii. 14; and Dureau de la Malle, Écon. Polit. des Romains, ii. 451. These 'portoria' *were a most* intolerable grievance, *like the* same class of payments *made in* France before the Revolution, which were demanded of a man in every direction where he could turn himself with his goods, by land or by water.

The 'portitores' were the collectors of these duties, who had power to rummage a man's goods, as modern custom-house officers do, and to open letters. A question arose during the administration of Quintus, whether the 'portorium circumvectionis,' or a duty on goods taken from one part of the province to another, could be claimed by the publicani in Asia. The question was between the publicani and the 'negotiatores;' and Cicero, in a letter to Quintus, gave his opinion that the claims of the publicani could not be maintained (Ad Att. ii. 16); but Quintus had informed Cicero before the arrival of Cicero's letter, that he had referred the question to the Roman senate, pursuant to the recommendation of his official advisers (de consilii sententia). The collection of the 'portoria,' like the collection of other dues, was let by the publicani, and sublet again. These sub-tenants are the τελῶναι of the Greek writers. There was a series of persons interested in filling their pockets, from the publicani down to the poorest farmer of the tolls of a petty bridge. The annoyance became so great, that the 'portoria' were abolished in Italy B.C. 60. (Ad Att. ii. 16.)

ignōro quid sociis accidat in ultimis terris, quum audierim in Italia querelas civium. Hic te ita versari ut et publicanis satisfacias, praesertim publicis male redemptis, et socios perire non sinas, divinae cujusdam virtutis esse videtur, id est, tuae. Ac primum Graecis id quod acerbissimum est quod sunt vectigales non ita acerbum videri debet, propterea quod sine imperio populi Romani suis institutis per se ipsi ita fuerunt. Nomen autem publicani aspernari non possunt, qui pendere ipsi vectigal sine publicano non potuerunt, quod iis aequaliter Sulla discripse-

*Publicis male redemptis,*] "As they have made a bad bargain in the terms which they have agreed to give for the power of collecting the taxes." The publicani who farmed the taxes were said "vectigalia redimere," or "conducere." The taxes were let for five years by the censors at Rome, and taken by associations (societates), which were partnerships, or in the nature of joint-stock companies. Sometimes they gave too much for the taxes, either through greediness in over-bidding one another, or through miscalculation. Cicero mentions a case, apparently this case (Ad Att. i. 15, 16, 17), in which the publicani of Asia came to complain to the senate, that through greediness they had given too much for the taxes; and they asked to have the agreement cancelled. Cicero helped them in the matter.

*Vectigales*] This means those who were subject to the payment of 'vectigal,' a word often used for taxes generally. Cicero says that the Asiani knew what taxation was before they became acquainted with the Romans, who however made them feel it sharper.

*Sulla*] When Sulla entered Asia, during the Mithridatic war (B.C. 84), he laid a contribution of 20,000 talents on Asia (Plutarch, Life of Lucullus, c. 4). The story is told more particularly in Plutarch's Life of Sulla (c. 24, 25). The money was raised by loan from the publicani (Plut. Lucull. c. 20), who, by charging interest, contrived to swell the debt up to 120,000 talents. Lucullus allowed the publicani to take 40,000 talents and no more; of which they complained most grievously. The sufferings of the people of Asia, under the grinding debt, with the publicani continually pressing them, are depicted in a lively manner by Plutarch. It seems from Cicero's instance of the Caunii, a people of Caria, that the Greeks squeezed their brethren even harder than a Roman did, if that was possible. The conclusion of the matter (34) is this, that Asia must not grumble at taxation, for which it got protection: as the Roman power (id imperium) could not be maintained without taxation, they must be content to purchase peace and security with part of their income (fructus). This is like the relation of England and India. The natives of India must not

rat. Non esse autem leniores in exigendis vectigalibus Graecos quam nostros publicanos hinc intelligi potest, quod Caunii nuper, omnesque ex insulis quae erant ab Sulla Rhodiis attributae, confugerunt ad Senatum, nobis ut potius vectigal quam Rhodiis penderent. Quare nomen publicani neque ii debent horrere qui semper vectigales fuerunt; neque ii aspernari qui per se pendere vectigal non potuerunt; neque ii recusare qui postulaverunt. 34. Simul et illud Asia cogitet nullam a se neque belli externi neque domesticarum discordiarum calamitatem abfuturam fuisse, si hoc imperio non teneretur. Id autem imperium quum retineri sine vectigalibus nullo modo possit, aequo animo parte aliqua suorum fructuum pacem sibi sempiternam redimat atque otium.

XII. 35. Quod si genus ipsum et nomen publicani non iniquo animo sustinebunt, poterunt iis consilio et prudentia tua reliqua videri mitiora. Possunt in pactionibus

grumble at paying dear for what they get from their masters. They are free from foreign war and domestic quarrels, and must be content with that and paying dear for bad salt.

*Caunii*] Sulla placed Caunus again under the Rhodii to punish the Caunians for their massacre of Roman citizens in the Mithridatic war (Appian, *Mithrid.* c. 23). I don't find the islands enumerated that were also put under the Rhodii; but they would be at the least the small islands along the Peraea of Caria. 'Attribuere' is a Roman expression which signifies to put one people under another, to make one people pay taxes to another. Caesar uses it so (B. G. vii. 9, 76; viii. 6).

*12. In pactionibus faciendis*] '*Pactum,*' 'pactio,' is the most general Roman term for any agreement. The 'lex censoria' means the terms, the conditions, on which the censors let the taxes to farm; and these terms the publicani must observe. Cicero, as usual, was wavering between his love of justice, and his desire to please the publicani. He here hints that the Asiani should not insist too strictly on the terms of the letting; they should rather settle with the publicani quietly, even if they are cheated a little. He says, "it is in their power, when they make their bargains with the publicani, not to look to the terms of the censors' letting, but rather to have regard to the convenience of settling the business, and the avoidance of trouble." This is the tenor of the passage to the end of this section (35): Do all you can to induce the Asiani, by all fair means, not to give the publicani

faciendis non legem spectare censoriam sed potius commoditatem conficiendi negotii et liberationem molestiae. Potes etiam tu id facere quod et fecisti egregie et facis, ut commemores quanta sit in publicanis dignitas, quantum nos illi ordini debeamus, ut remoto imperio ac vi potestatis et fascium publicanos cum Graecis gratia atque auctoritate conjungas. Sed et ab iis de quibus optime tu meritus es et qui tibi omnia debent hoc petas, ut facilitate sua nos eam necessitudinem quae est nobis cum publicanis obtinere et conservare patiantur. 36. Sed quid ego te haec hortor, quae tu non modo facere potes tua sponte sine cujusquam praeceptis, sed etiam magna jam ex parte perfecisti? Non enim desistunt nobis agere quotidie gratias honestissimae et maximae societates, quod quidem mihi idcirco jucundius est, quod idem faciunt Graeci. Difficile est autem ea quae commodis, utilitate et prope natura diversa sunt, voluntate conjungere. At ea quidem, quae supra scripta sunt, non ut te instituerem scripsi, neque enim prudentia tua cujusquam praecepta desiderat, sed me in scribendo commemoratio tuae virtutis delectavit: quamquam in his litteris longior fui quam aut vellem aut quam me putavi fore.

XIII. 37. Unum est quod tibi ego praecipere non

much trouble about the taxes: the publicani, you must tell the people, are your and my good friends; we wish to oblige them: good people of Asia, we entreat you, pay quietly and quickly, don't look too sharp after your rights: I and my brother are much beholden to these gentlemen tax-collectors, and we would, if we could, keep on the best terms with them.—As to these 'pactiones,' see Verr. ii. 3, c. 14, 57.

*Societates,*] These are the associations *of publicani,* men of the *class of whom he has* been speaking. It seems that Cicero had solved the difficult problem of pleasing both the tax-collectors and the tax-payers, the Graeci. In the next sentence he says, "however, it is difficult to unite in real good will things which in their interests, advantages, and almost in their very nature, are diverse." As "diverse," says Manutius, "as fire and water, are the publicani and the socii." One set is all for receiving; the other all for not paying.

*Instituerem*] See De Sen. c. 14.

*Vellem*] See De Sen. c. 10.

desinam, neque te patiar, quantum erit in me, cum exceptione laudari. Omnes enim qui istinc veniunt, ita de tua virtute, integritate, humanitate commemorant, ut in tuis summis laudibus excipiant unam iracundiam. Quod vitium quum in hac privata quotidianaque vita levis esse animi atque infirmi videtur, tum vero nihil est tam deforme quam ad summum imperium etiam acerbitatem naturae adjungere. Quare illud non suscipiam ut, quae de iracundia dici solent a doctissimis hominibus, ea nunc tibi exponam, quum et nimis longus esse nolim et ex multorum scriptis ea facile possis cognoscere: illud quod est epistolae proprium, ut is ad quem scribitur de iis rebus quas ignorat certior fiat, praetermittendum esse non puto. 38. Sic ad nos omnes fere deferunt, nihil quum absit iracundia te fieri posse jucundius; sed quum te alicujus improbitas perversitasque commoverit, sic te animo incitari ut ab omnibus tua desideretur humanitas. Quare quoniam in eam rationem vitae nos non tam cupiditas quaedam gloriae quam res ipsa ac fortuna deduxit, ut sempiternus sermo hominum de nobis futurus sit, caveamus, quantum efficere et consequi possumus, ut ne quod in nobis insigne vitium fuisse dicatur. Neque ego nunc hoc contendo, quod fortasse quum in omni natura tum jam in nostra aetate

13. *Qui istinc veniunt,*] See De Sen. 2. Cicero now goes on to touch the weak part of his brother,—his hasty temper; and he does it with great tact. There is no reason to doubt the integrity of Quintus, who was, as it appears from what we know of him, as honest as a Roman at the time well could be. He was however a little, irritable fellow, with plenty of courage, and perhaps no great discretion.

*Ut—de iis rebus quas ignorat*] "*Ignoret* Ern. susp." is Orelli's note. But why is he so suspicious? We don't write to a man to tell him what he may know or not know, but what he does not know.

*Caveamus,—ut ne*] 'Ut ne' is more emphatic than 'ne;' most frequently used when something is interposed between 'cave' and 'ne.' The common form is this: "Quod ne accidat cavendum est." De Am. 26. 'Ne' is sometimes omitted, as "cave Catoni anteponas," De Am. 2; "cave dixeris," "take care how you say it." For other examples of 'ut ne,' when other words than 'cave' precede 'ut ne,' see De Am. 12, 16, 18.

difficile est, mutare animum, et si quid est penitus insitum moribus id subito evellere; sed te illud admoneo ut, si hoc plene vitare non potes, quod ante occupatur animus ab iracundia quam providere ratio potuit ne occuparetur, ut te ante compares quotidieque meditere resistendum esse iracundiae; quumque ea maxime animum moveat, tum tibi esse diligentissime linguam continendam, quae quidem mihi virtus non interdum minor videtur quam omnino non irasci. Nam illud est non solum gravitatis sed nonnumquam etiam lentitudinis: moderari vero et animo et orationi, quum sis iratus, aut etiam tacere et tenere in sua potestate motum animi et dolorem, etsi non est perfectae sapientiae, tamen est non mediocris ingenii. 39. Atque in hoc genere multo te esse jam commodiorem mitioremque nuntiant. Nullae tuae vehementiores animi concitationes, nulla maledicta ad nos, nullae contumeliae perferuntur; quae quum abhorrent a litteris, ab humanitate, tum vero contraria sunt imperio ac dignitati. Nam si implacabiles iracundiae sint, summa est acerbitas: sin autem exorabiles, summa levitas: quae tamen ut in malis acerbitati anteponenda est.

*Te illud admoneo ut,—ut te ante*] The 'ut' is repeated on account of the number of words which come between the first 'ut' and its verb 'compares.'

*Gravitatis—lentitudinis:*] "For to avoid falling into passion is the mark not only of a certain dignity of character, but sometimes also of a sluggish disposition." Some persons have no great merit in never getting into a passion, for their nature is too torpid to be roused. From what follows ('concitationes,' 'maledicta,' and so forth), we may infer that Quintus had often been in terrible furies, and used abusive language, unbecoming an educated man, and unsuited to the authority and high station (imperium, dignitas) which he held. Perhaps Marcus gave him credit for more improvement than he deserved, in order to encourage him to go on.

*Si implacabiles—sint,—est*] No suspicion of Ernesti's is mentioned here, and yet it is a suspicious case. It should be 'sunt.'

*Iracundiae*] "The plural of this abstractum expresses here the repetition, the frequent occurrence of the thing." Süpfle.

*Ut in malis*] See De Sen. c. 4. "If we set one evil against another, one fault against another." Comp.

XIV. 40. Sed quoniam primus annus habuit de hac reprehensione plurimum sermonis, credo propterea quod tibi hominum injuriae, quod avaritiae, quod insolentia praeter opinionem accidebat et intolerabilis videbatur; secundus autem multo lenior, quod et consuetudo, et ratio, et ut ego arbitror, meae quoque litterae te patientiorem lenioremque fecerunt: tertius annus ita debet esse emendatus, ut ne minimam quidem rem quisquam possit ullam reprehendere. 41. Ac jam hoc loco non hortatione neque praeceptis, sed precibus tecum fraternis ago, totum ut animum, curam, cogitationemque tuam ponas in omnium laude undique colligenda. Quod si in mediocri statu sermonis ac praedicationis nostrae res essent, nihil abs te eximium, nihil praeter aliorum consuetudinem postularetur. Nunc vero propter earum rerum in quibus versati sumus splendorem et magnitudinem, nisi summam laudem ex ista provincia assequimur, vix videmur summam vituperationem posse vitare. Ea nostra ratio est ut omnes boni quum faveant, tum etiam omnem a nobis diligentiam virtutemque et postulent et exspectent, omnes autem improbi quod cum iis bellum sempiternum suscepimus, vel minima re ad reprehendendum contenti esse videantur. 42. Quare quoniam ejusmodi theatrum est totius, celebritate refertissimum, magnitudine amplissimum, judicio

Ad Att. iv. 1: "ita sunt res nostrae: ut in secundis, fluxae," &c.; and Ad Fam. xii. 2. Süpfle.

14. *Quod si in mediocri,* &c.] Süpfle says that the brevity of the genitive in this sentence (sermonis, &c.) cannot be expressed in German. Nor can it in English. The student should exercise himself on such passages.

*Theatrum est totius,*] This is evidently corrupt. Orelli suggests *that, if nothing* has been lost, we *ought perhaps to* read 'es sortitus' *in place of* 'est totius.' The passage appears thus in some texts: "theatrum tuis virtutibus est datum." The meaning of the whole passage is this, the expression being founded on the notion of a theatre: "Wherefore, since you have such a theatre, with spectators most crowded, in dimensions most ample, in discrimination most practised, in its nature too so resonant, that the applause and shouts are echoed even to Rome." 'Celebritas' is explained c. 8.

eruditissimum, natura autem ita resonans ut usque Romam significationes vocesque referantur, contende, quaeso, atque elabora non modo ut his rebus dignus fuisse sed etiam ut illa omnia tuis artibus superasse videare.

XV. 43. Et quoniam mihi casus urbanam in magistratibus administrationem rei publicae, tibi provincialem dedit, si mea pars nemini cedit, fac ut tua ceteros vincat. Simul et illud cogita, nos non de reliqua et sperata gloria jam laborare, sed de parta dimicare; quae quidem non tam expetenda nobis fuit quam tuenda est. Ac si mihi quidquam esset abs te separatum, nihil amplius desiderarem hoc statu qui mihi jam partus est. Nunc vero sic res sese habet ut, nisi omnia tua facta atque dicta nostris rebus istinc respondeant, ego me tantis meis laboribus tantisque periculis, quorum tu omnium particeps fuisti, nihil consecutum putem. Quod si ut amplissimum nomen consequeremur unus praeter ceteros adjuvisti, certe idem ut id retineamus praeter ceteros elaborabis. Non est tibi his solis utendum existimationibus ac judiciis qui nunc sunt hominum, sed iis etiam qui futuri sunt: quamquam

*Significationes*] Cicero speaks of a 'significatio probitatis' (De Am. c. 9). 'Significatio' means a sign or indication of something. Here it is the signs of applause, clapping with the hands, and so forth; for 'voces' is mentioned separately. In De Am. c. 14, there is 'significatio virtutis.'

*His rebus*] Appears to refer to 'significationes vocesque;' and 'illa omnia' to refer generally to 'his rebus,' and to every praise that Quintus had merited.

15. *Urbanam in magistratibus*] Cicero's activity in his praetorship and his consulship were confined to Rome.

*Ut amplissimum nomen*] He appears to allude to the exertions of Quintus, when he was a candidate for the consulship. Quintus addressed to his brother a small treatise, still extant, entitled "De Petitione Consulatus," which is a word of advice to a candidate for the honour. But, according to Süpfle, the allusion is to the conspiracy of Catiline and Cicero's services in that matter.

*Quamquam illorum*] This is a good example of 'illorum,' as referring to what is in mental contemplation remote, the opinion "eorum qui futuri sunt." Manutius does not see what 'quamquam' here adds to the expression. He would prefer 'quoniam' or 'namque.' But all depends on the translation of 'quamquam,' one of

illorum erit verius judicium obtrectatione et malevolentia liberatum. 44. Denique illud etiam debes cogitare, non te tibi soli gloriam quaerere, quod si esset, tamen non negligeres, praesertim quum amplissimis monumentis consecrare voluisses memoriam nominis tui; sed ea tibi est communicanda mecum, prodenda liberis nostris. In quo cavendum est ne, si negligentior fueris, non solum tibi parum consuluisse sed etiam tuis invidisse videaris.

XVI. 45. Atque haec non eo dicuntur ut te oratio mea dormientem excitasse sed potius ut currentem incitasse videatur. Facies enim perpetuo quae fecisti, ut omnes aequitatem tuam, temperantiam, severitatem, integritatemque laudent. Sed me quaedam tenet propter singularem amorem infinita in te aviditas gloriae: quamquam illud existimo, quum jam tibi Asia sicut uni cuique sua domus nota esse debeat, quum ad tuam summam prudentiam tantus usus accesserit, nihil esse quod ad laudem attineat quod non tu optime perspicias et tibi non sine cujusquam hortatione in mentem veniat quotidie. Sed ego qui, quum tua lego, te audire, et qui, quum ad te scribo, tecum loqui videor, idcirco et tua longissima qua-

the duplicated adverbs, or conjunctions, or whatever they are called. The notion contained in this duplication is of a generalizing nature; and 'quamquam' means 'however it may be,' 'take it as you will,' and 'the judgment of posterity will be the truer judgment, being disentangled from all detraction and ill-will.'

*Amplissimis monumentis — voluisses*] This alludes perhaps to an historical work on which Quintus employed himself. See Ad Att. ii. 16. This passage is curious. After telling Atticus that he had received a letter from Quintus, he adds: "My brother laments his residence in Asia in the first part of his letter in such terms as would move any one; then again he recovers himself so far as to ask me to correct and publish his annals." The word 'monumentum,' or 'monimentum,' from 'mone-o,' means any record or memorial. Süpfle explains it by referring to § 26 and 31.

16. *Currentem incitasse*] A proverbial expression; as in Cicero (De Or. ii. 44): "Facilius enim est currentem, quod aiunt, incitare quam commovere languentem." Süpfle. Comp. Ad Div. xv. 15.

*In te aviditas*] Süpfle takes 'in te' to be the ablative, like 'in servis,' and to mean 'in your case,' 'with respect to you.'

que epistola maxime delector et ipse in scribendo sum saepe longior. 46. Illud te ad extremum et oro et hortor ut, tamquam poetae boni et actores industrii solent, sic tu in extrema parte et conclusione muneris ac negotii tui diligentissimus sis, ut hic tertius annus imperii tui, tamquam tertius actus, perfectissimus atque ornatissimus fuisse videatur. Id facillime facies, si me, cui semper uni magis quam universis placere voluisti, tecum semper esse putabis, et omnibus iis rebus quas dices ac facies interesse. Reliquum est ut te orem ut valetudini tuae, si me et tuos omnes valere vis, diligentissime servias. Vale.

*Tamquam tertius actus,*] The government of Quintus is compared to a play; he has already by implication been compared to an actor who has a wide stage and a full audience. This last year is now compared to the last act of a play. Would it be believed that some critics would read "extremus" or "ultimus actus," in place of 'tertius,' because a Roman play, forsooth, has five acts? The drama of the administration of Quintus had three acts, and the third was the last. I copy Süpfle's explanation, but I do not accept it. "Cicero has here without doubt for good reasons had in view the Greek division of a play into three parts, into πρόλογος, ἐπεισόδιον, ἔξοδος, and not the usual Roman division into five acts. But the ἐπεισόδιον itself also consisted of three parts or acts, of which Cicero here means the last, without including in the reckoning the πρόλογος and ἔξοδος. In Varro also (De R. R. iii. 16) we find this allusion to the Greek drama, where he says: 'Relinquitur tertius actus de piscinis.'"

See De Sen. c. 23, note. Cicero, in enumerating the villainies of Verres (Verr. ii. 2, c. 6) speaks of his quaestorship, his legatio, his praetorship at Rome, and fourthly of his praetorship in Sicily, which he calls the 'quartus actus' of his improbity.

# M. TULLII CICERONIS
# EPISTOLARUM LIBRI DUO.

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Selections from Cicero's letters might be made for various purposes. The purpose of the following selection is for the teaching of the Latin language; and probably any other sixty letters might be selected which would answer the same end. I should have made the number larger if the limits of this little book allowed.

I was not able to get a copy of the original selection of J. Sturmius, which Ascham recommends as an elementary book for Latin scholars; but I have got a reprint of the book (Leipzig, 1741), which, besides three books of the selection of Sturmius, contains a fourth book of selections by Jonas Bittner, the whole revised by C. Daum; or rather not revised, for it is one of the most incorrect works that ever I saw. There is a London print of the selections dated 1669, which also contains four books. The title is 'Marci Tullii Ciceronis Epistolarum Libri iv. Cum postremis H. Stephani et D. Lambini Editionibus diligenter collati et quam accuratissime emendati. A Joanne Sturmio. In puerilem educationem confecti. Huic editioni accesserunt Graeca Latinis expressa.' It appears from the Prefatory Letter of J. Sturmius to his brother Jacobus that his selection consisted of four books; and he gives a very good account of the reasons which guided him in making the selection. I think that his

book is better adapted to learn the Latin language from than any modern selection that I have seen; and it is very judiciously made. The first book contains fifty-seven letters, most of them short; and very few present any difficulty which a master cannot explain with little trouble. I have placed in this first book of selections the greater part of those selected by Sturmius for his first book, to which I have added a few others of the same kind. It would not be difficult to pick out about one hundred short letters of this description, which, if well studied, would give a boy a very competent knowledge of the construction of easy Latin sentences. The letters in the second book I have taken partly from the second and third books of Sturmius, and partly I have selected them myself, being guided in the choice by the judgment that Sturmius has shown. I wish that I could have added a few more. This second book of letters is perhaps not more difficult than the first, except so far as greater length may cause some trouble to beginners; but many of them are of a different kind from the brief familiar letters of the first book.

The Zürich Letters (Second Series), edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. H. Robinson, contain two Latin letters of Ascham to J. Sturmius, and several from others to Sturmius. This series also contains some of Sturmius' letters, two of which are to Elizabeth; and there is one from Elizabeth to Sturmius, which is probably her own. Another to Sturmius is signed T. Smith. One of Ascham's letters to Sturmius (Ep. xxx.) contains some facts about the Queen's great readiness in Greek and Latin[1]. These Zürich letters, besides their historical

[1] "Ipse nunquam (Deo sint gratiae) in majore gratia fui apud reginam serenissimam. Aliquid Graece aut Latine mecum quotidie legit."

value, are worth reading as specimens of the excellent practical knowledge of Latin which most of the writers had. The letters of Jewell are almost faultless, and very lively and amusing.

The only difficulties in these letters of Cicero arise either from particular words or from the general matter. I have briefly explained a few of those terms which puzzle a learner, or even a teacher who has not turned his attention particularly to the letters of Cicero and to the technical terms which frequently occur in them. As to the matter, I have done enough to show what the letters are about, when such information was necessary; and by putting those to the same person together, I have somewhat diminished a difficulty which is inherent in all epistolary correspondence. Though the letters were selected solely for the language, I have chosen such as help to explain one another; and a reader will find that, when he has got through a few, he will have less trouble with the rest. I have taken many of those to Tiro; and indeed the whole book of letters to Tiro might have been well placed here. They are of the familiar affectionate kind, turn upon a few matters, of which Tiro's poor health is one; and they show the amiable side of the family of the Ciceros in their attachment to a faithful servant. Setting aside the difficulty of the matter, which in these letters is not great, there is no Latin author read in schools, either good or bad, whose language is easier for a boy than the language of these letters.

I have given the dates A. U. C. of the letters as they are given in Orelli's edition; but a few of the dates are not certain. I have used the notes of P. Manutius and those in the Variorum edition; and some of those in Süpfle's collection, for I happened to select several letters that *he has* selected, and before I saw his book.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

# EPISTOLARUM LIBRI DUO.

## LIB. I.

### 1. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

(XIV. 21. A. U. C. 704.)

S. V. B. E. V. Da operam ut convalescas. Quod opus erit, ut res tempusque postulat, provideas atque administres; et ad me de omnibus rebus quam saepissime literas mittas. Vale.

### 2. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S.

(XIV. 8. A. U. C. 704.)

S. V. B. E. E. V. Valetudinem tuam velim cures diligentissime. Nam mihi et scriptum et nuntiatum est te in febrim subito incidisse. Quod celeriter me fecisti de Caesaris literis certiorem, fecisti mihi gratum. Item

The following letters are addressed by Cicero to his wife Terentia.

1. S. V. B. E. V.] The Romans used many abbreviations in writing. These letters signify: 'si vales, bene est, valeo.'

2. *Quod—me fecisti*] The neuter relative is often placed thus, to introduce a matter of which something is going to be said. There is another example at the beginning of the third letter.

*Caesaris*] C. Julius Caesar is meant.

N 2

posthac, si quid opus erit, si quid acciderit novi, facies ut sciam. Cura ut valeas. Vale. D. iiii. Nonas Jun.

## 3. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

(XIV. 12. A. U. C. 706.)

Quod nos in Italiam salvos venisse gaudes, perpetuo gaudeas velim. Sed perturbati dolore animi magnisque injuriis metuo ne id consilii ceperimus quod non facile explicare possimus. Quare quantum potes adjuva. Quid autem possis mihi in mentem non venit. In viam quod te des hoc tempore nihil est: et longum est iter et non tutum: et non video quid prodesse possis si veneris. Vale. D. prid. Nonas Novemb. Brundisio.

## 4. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

(XIV. 19. A. U. C. 706.)

In maximis meis doloribus excruciat me valetudo Tulliae nostrae. De qua nihil est quod ad te plura scribam; tibi enim aeque magnae curae esse certo scio. Quod me propius vultis accedere, video ita esse faciendum. Etiam ante fecissem, sed me multa impediverunt quae ne nunc quidem expedita sunt. Sed a Pomponio exspecto literas quas ad me quam primum perferendas cures velim. Da operam ut valeas.

*D.*] The abbreviation of 'datum,' or of 'datae,' that is, 'literae,' which signifies the time and place at which a letter was given to the letter-carrier, 'tabellarius;' whence the Italian expression 'la data,' and the English 'date' and 'dated.' Cicero says, Ad Q. Fr. ii. 15, "accepi tuas literas datas Placentia;" and Ad Att. xi. 17, "properantibus tabellariis alienis hanc epistolam dedi."

3. *This* letter was written upon *Cicero's* return to Italy, after the *battle of* Pharsalia, B.C. 48; and he expresses his fears that he has not taken a prudent step, that there will be no good result. He says Ad Att. xiv. 1, "explicari rem non posse."

*Brundisio.*] There is a reading Brundisii: but the ablative form is most used in such cases.

4. *Quod—propius*] This letter was written from Brundisium, before Tullia came, if the date is rightly fixed. He speaks of coming nearer to Rome, as Atticus (who is Pomponius) advised him. Ad Att. xi. 6, 2.

## 5. TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE.

(xiv. 11. A. U. C. 707.)

V. B. E. V. Tullia nostra venit ad me pridie Idus 
nias, cujus summa virtute et singulari humanitate gra-
re etiam sum dolore affectus nostra factum esse negli-
ntia ut longe alia in fortuna esset atque ejus pietas ac
gnitas postulabat. Nobis erat in animo Ciceronem ad
esarem mittere, et cum eo Cn. Salustium. Si profectus
it, faciam te certiorem. Valetudinem tuam cura dili-
nter. Vale. XVII. Kalendas Quintil.

## 6. TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE.

(xiv. 15. A. U. C. 707.)

vales, bene est. Constitueramus, ut ad te antea scrip-
ram, obviam Ciceronem Caesari mittere; sed mutavimus
nsilium, quia de illius adventu nihil audiebamus. De
teris rebus, etsi nihil erat novi, tamen quid velimus et
id hoc tempore putemus opus esse ex Sicca poteris
gnoscere. Tulliam adhuc mecum teneo. Valetudinem
am cura diligenter. Vale. XII. Kalendas Quintil.

## 7. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

(xiv. 24. A. U. C. 707.)

V. B. E. V. Nos neque de Caesaris adventu neque de

5. *Tullia*] His daughter Tullia
l come to see him after his re-
n: and he thinks of sending his
n Cicero to Caesar, to make his
ace with the conqueror (Ad Att.
17).

*Alia—atque*] "In a different
ndition from that which," &c.,
we say. 'Atque' is thus used
o with 'aeque.' The construc-
n is easily explained by supply-
ing the proper form of 'alia' in the latter member of the sentence.

*Quintil.*] This was written before the name of the month Quintilis was changed to Julius.

6. *Adventu*] Caesar was now in Asia, whither he had gone from Egypt.

*Sicca*] A friend of Cicero, who lived at Vibo, in the Bruttii.

literis, quas Philotimus habere dicitur, quidquam adhuc certi habemus. Si quid erit certi, faciam te statim certiorem. Valetudinem tuam fac ut cures. Vale. III. Idus Sextiles.

## 8. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

(XIV. 23. A. U. C. 707.)

S. V. B. E. V. Redditae mihi tandem sunt a Caesare literae satis liberales; et ipse opinione celerius venturus esse dicitur. Cui utrum obviam procedam an hic eum exspectem, quum constituero, faciam te certiorem. Tabellarios mihi velim quam primum remittas. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. D. pridie Idus Sext.

## 9. TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE.

(XIV. 22. A. U. C. 707.)

S. V. B. E. V. Nos quotidie tabellarios nostros exspectamus, qui si venerint, fortasse erimus certiores quid nobis faciendum sit, faciemusque te statim certiorem. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. Kalendis Septembribus.

## 10. TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE.

(XIV. 20. A. U. C. 707.)

In Tusculanum nos venturos putamus aut Nonis aut post-

7. *Philotimus*] Cicero had heard that Philotimus had reached Rhodes with a letter from Caesar for him. Ad Att. xi. 23.

8. *Redditae mihi*, &c.] "A letter from Caesar has been delivered to me;" 'dare literas,' as already explained, is equivalent to 'sending a letter.' 'Reddere literas,' is the corresponding expression; 'to deliver a letter.'

*Satis liberales;*] "In terms generous enough;" as one might expect from such a man. Cicero saw Caesar shortly after at Brundisium, and was well received by him (Plutarch, Cicero, c. 39). He then moved on to Rome, as the next letter shows.

10. *In Tusculanum*] He announces to his wife that he is coming to his villa at Tusculum,

ridie. Ibi ut sint omnia parata. Plures enim fortasse nobiscum erunt, et ut arbitror diutius ibi commorabimur. Labrum si in balineo non est, ut sit; item cetera quae sunt ad victum et valetudinem necessaria. Vale. Kal. Octobr. de Venusino.

## 11. TULLIUS TIRONI S.

(XVI. 10. A. U. C. 700.)

Ego vero cupio te ad me venire; sed viam timeo. Gravissime aegrotasti: inedia et purgationibus et vi ipsius morbi consumptus es. Graves solent offensiones esse ex

on the Alban hills, near Frascati, near Rome; and she is to get every thing ready for him. He was dissatisfied with his wife's management of his affairs, during his absence, and was out of humour with her. The letter is hardly civil. The next year, B.C. 46, he divorced her.

*Ut sint omnia parata.*] In the familiar epistolary style, and also in conversation, words were often omitted: 'fac ut sint' would be the complete expression.

*Labrum*] 'Labrum,' in the sense of a vessel for bathing in, was a large marble basin, which either stood on the floor or was sunk in it. 'Balineum' or 'balnea' is the general name for a bath: here it means the apartment.

*De Venusino.*] 'Agro.' He wrote the letter in the neighbourhood of Venusia (Venosa), the birth-place of Horace, and on his way to Tusculum.

11. This and the following letters are addressed by Cicero to Tiro, who was first his slave, and afterwards was manumitted by him. Tiro was chiefly instructed by Cicero; and his aptness for learning and amiable disposition endeared him to his master, whose attachment is shown by these letters. Tiro was Cicero's literary assistant, and was himself a writer on grammar. After Cicero's death he wrote his life in four books, a work which is mentioned by Plutarch (Life of Cicero, c. 41, 49) and others. He superintended an edition of Cicero's orations, after the orator's death; but there is no authority for attributing to him the collection of Cicero's letters, which we now have. He possessed, however, some letters, as we learn from Cicero himself (Ad Att. xvi. 5); and it was Cicero's intention to have them and others published; but whether Tiro published these letters of which Cicero speaks, or any other, can neither be affirmed nor denied, for want of evidence. Tiro's health was poor, as we see from this and other letters.

*Ego vero cupio*] "Indeed. I do wish you to come." This form of expression is used in answer to a letter. See Ad Div. iv. 6, "Ego vero, Servi, vellem," &c.; or in answer to a remark, De Am. c. 5.

gravibus morbis, si quae culpa commissa est. Jam ad id biduum, quod fueris in via dum in Cumanum venis, accedent continuo ad reditum dies quinque. Ego in Formiano a. d. III. Kalend. esse volo. Ibi te ut firmum offendam, mi Tiro, effice. Literulae meae sive nostrae tui desiderio oblanguerunt. Hac tamen epistola quam Acastus attulit oculos paullum sustulerunt. Pompeius erat apud me quum haec scribebam, hilare et lubenter. Ei cupienti audire nostra dixi sine te omnia mea muta esse. Tu Musis nostris para ut operas reddas. Nostra ad diem dictam fient. Docui enim te fides ἔτυμον quod haberet. Fac plane ut valeas. Nos adsumus. Vale. XIV. Kal.

*In Cumanum*] Cicero appears to write from his villa at Cumae, on the Campanian coast, from which he was intending to move northwards, to his villa at Formiae, near the present Gaeta. Tiro was to be ready to see Cicero at the Formianum. He was not to undertake the journey to Cumae from the place where he was, which would take two days; and the return from Cumae to Formiae, as I understand it, would be five more: short days' journey certainly, but enough for a sick man. Tiro was therefore somewhere between Cumae and Formiae, when this letter was sent to him.

*Esse volo.*] This means, 'I design,' 'I intend.'

*Erat—quum haec scribebam,*] This may be called an epistolary tense. In English we can say either, "Pompeius is with me while I am writing this;" or we can say after Cicero's fashion, with reference to the time when the letter will be read, "Pompeius was with me when I was writing this." As to the epistolary tenses, see Key's Grammar, 1160, &c.; and a good example of them in the beginning of a letter to Atticus (ix. 1).

*Muta esse.*] He means that his studies were interrupted by Tiro's absence; and he tells him that he must prepare to resume his literary labours with him.

*Nostra ad diem, &c.*] "My part shall be done at the time fixed." He alludes to his promise to manumit Tiro; and in the next sentence he alludes to his notion of the ἔτυμον or etymology of 'fides,' as being derived from the verb 'fio.'

*Nos adsumus*] There is no sense in the reading 'nos ad summum.' The conclusion of the letter seems to mean: "see that you get quite strong; I shall soon be with you." Cicero ends a letter to Atticus (xvi. 15) with 'Adsum igitur.'

## 12. Q. M. FRATRI S.

(XVI. 16. A. U. C. 700.)

De Tirone, mi Marce, ita te meumque Ciceronem et meam Tulliolam tuumque filium videam, ut mihi gratissimum fecisti, quum eum, indignum illa fortuna, nobis amicum quam servum esse maluisti. Mihi crede, tuis et illius literis perlectis exsilui gaudio, et tibi et ago gratias et gratulor. Si enim mihi Statii fidelitas est tantae voluptati, quanti esse in isto haec eadem bona debent, additis literis, sermonibus, humanitate, quae sunt his ipsis commodis potiora? Amo te omnibus equidem maximis de causis, verum etiam propter hanc vel quod mihi sic ut debuisti nuntiasti. Te totum in literis vidi. Sabini pueris et promisi omnia, et faciam.

## 13. TULLIUS TIRONI SUO S.

(XVI. 2. A. U. C. 704.)

Non queo ad te nec lubet scribere quo animo sim affectus: tantum scribo et tibi et mihi maximae voluptati fore, si te firmum quam primum videro. Tertio die abs te ad Alyziam accesseramus. Is locus est citra Leucadem

12. This letter (of uncertain date, like the preceding) from Quintus Cicero to his brother Marcus, thanks him for manumitting Tiro. It seems probable that Quintus was at this time with Caesar in Gaul, for he hopes to see Cicero again, and his own son, and Cicero's son and daughter. He says nothing about his wife; but that does not prove that she was with him.

*Ita te*, &c., *ut*] A Roman form of expression, which corresponds to our form: "as I hope to see you and my son Cicero, and my dear little Tullia and your son, I *assure you that you have* pleased me most particularly," &c.

13. Tiro accompanied Cicero to his government of Cilicia, B.C. 51, and returned with him B.C. 50. Tiro was left sick at Patrae (Patras) in Achaia, under the care of two of Cicero's friends, M'. Curius and Lyso.

*Alyzia*] He fixes the position of Alyzia as being 120 stadia, or fifteen Roman miles, 'on this side of Leucas' (Santa Maura), that is, between Leucas and Patrae. Cicero means the city of Leucas in the north part of the island. Alyzia is on the mainland opposite to the island.

stadia cxx. Leucade aut te ipsum aut tuas literas a Marione putabam me accepturum. Quantum me diligis, tantum fac ut valeas, vel quantum a me scis diligi. Nonis Novemb. Alyzia.

## 14. TULLIUS ET CICERO TIRONI SUO S. D. ET Q. PATER ET FILIUS.

(xvi. 3. A. U. C. 704.)

Nos apud Alyziam, ex quo loco tibi literas ante dederamus, unum diem commorati sumus, quod Quintus nos consecutus non erat. Is dies fuit Non. Novembr. Inde ante lucem proficiscentes ante diem viii. Idus Novembr. has literas dedimus. Tu, si nos omnes amas et praecipue me magistrum tuum, confirma te. Ego valde suspenso animo exspecto, primum te scilicet, deinde Marionem cum tuis literis. Omnes cupimus, ego in primis, quam primum te videre, sed, mi Tiro, valentem. Quare nihil properaris;

*Marione*] Mario was one of Cicero's slaves. "At Leucas I expect either to see you or to receive a letter from you by Mario."

14. *Dederamus*,] As the epistolary imperfect is used where we might use the present in English, so the epistolary pluperfect is used in place of the perfect.

*Ante diem* viii. *Idus Novembr.*] "On the eighth (octavum) day before the Ides of November." This Roman expression is often written in the abbreviated form, "A. D. viii. Idus Novembr." where A. D. must not be confounded with 'ad.' The expression "ante diem octavum Idus Novembres" seems awkward. Perhaps it may be explained thus. The 'ante' goes with 'Idus,' and the meaning is '*before the* Ides of November,' *and the* words 'the eighth day' are *interposed* to fix the time. Being so placed, it is not so strange that "octavum diem" are put in the accusative. But whatever may be the true explanation, it is certain that 'ante diem viii. Idus,' and like expressions, as 'ante diem x. Kal. Jan.,' mean 'on the eighth,' and 'on the tenth.' The 'ante' had lost its meaning. The Roman lawyers even said that 'ante Kalendas proximas' means 'Kalendis' (Dig. 50, 16, 13). The Romans also said 'in ante diem iv.' for 'in diem iv.,' and 'ex ante diem' for 'ex die.' (Savigny, System, &c. iv. p. 329.)

*Magistrum tuum*,] 'Magister' must not be confounded with 'dominus,' which means 'owner.' Cicero was once the 'dominus' of Tiro; now he was his 'patronus,' and Tiro was his 'libertus.' Cicero calls himself the 'magister,' or instructor of Tiro.

satis quotidie videro, si valebis. Utilitatibus tuis possum carere; te valere tua causa primum volo, tum mea, mi Tiro. Vale.

## 15. TULLIUS, ET CICERO, ET Q. Q. TIRONI HUMANISSIMO ET OPTIMO S. P. D.

(XVI. 5. A. U. C. 704.)

Vide quanta sit in te suavitas. Duas horas Thyrei fuimus. Xenomenes hospes tam te diligit quam si vixerit tecum. Is omnia pollicitus est quae tibi essent opus. Facturum puto. Mihi placebat, si firmior esses, ut te Leucadem deportaret, ut ibi te plane confirmares. Videbis quid Curio, quid Lysoni, quid medico placeat. Volebam ad te Marionem remittere, quem, quum meliuscule tibi esset, ad me mitteres: sed cogitavi unas literas Marionem afferre posse, me autem crebras exspectare. Poteris igitur, et facies, si me diligis, ut quotidie sit Acastus in portu. Multi erunt quibus recte literas dare possis, qui ad me libenter perferant. Equidem Patras euntem neminem praetermittam. Ego omnem spem tui diligenter curandi in Curio habeo. Nihil potest illo fieri humanius, nihil nostri amantius. Ei te totum trade. Malo te paullo post

*Carere;*] 'I can do without your services.' See De Sen. c. 14.

15. *Vide*] "See what a charming fellow you are. We have been only two hours at Thyreum, and host Xenomenes loves you as much as he will do after he has lived with you." He loves you from my report. This seems to me now to be the meaning.

*Thyrei*] Thyreum or Thyrium, a town on the mainland of Acarnania, not rightly placed in the maps with respect to Leucas, if we may conclude from this letter.

*Meliuscule tibi esset,*] "When you are a little better." 'Bene,' 'male,' are thus used with a dative. "Bene solis esse maritis." (Horat. i. Ep. i. 89.)

*Acastus*] He was a slave of Cicero. He was to attend at the port daily, to look for an opportunity of forwarding letters. In Terence the persons speak of going to the harbour for the letters. Cicero first thought of sending Mario back to Tiro, but on second thoughts he changed his mind, for if Mario was sent back by Tiro, he could only bring one letter, and Cicero wished to hear often.

valentem quam statim imbecillum videre. Cura igitur nihil aliud nisi ut [tu] valeas: cetera ego curabo. Etiam atque etiam vale. Leucade proficiscens VII. Idus Novembr.

## 16. TULLIUS ET CICERO ET Q. Q. TIRONI SAL. PLUR. D.

(XVI. 6. A. U. C. 704.)

Tertiam ad te hanc epistolam scripsi eodem die, magis instituti mei tenendi causa quia nactus eram cui darem quam quo haberem quid scriberem. Igitur illa: quantum me diligis, tantum adhibe in te diligentiae. Ad tua innumerabilia in me officia adde hoc quod mihi erit gratissimum omnium. Quum valetudinis rationem, ut spero, habueris, habeto etiam navigationis. In Italiam euntibus omnibus ad me literas dabis, ut ego euntem Patras neminem praetermitto. Cura, cura te, mi Tiro: quoniam non contigit ut simul navigares, nihil est quod festines; nec quidquam cures nisi ut valeas. Etiam atque etiam vale. VII. Idus Novembr. Actio, vesperi.

## 17. TULLIUS ET CICERO S. D. TIRONI SUO.

(XVI. 7. A. U. C. 704.)

Septimum jam diem Corcyrae tenebamur. Quintus autem

16. *Tertiam*] Letter (xvi. 4) not printed here, is dated from Leucas VII. Id. Nov. Letter (xvi. 5) is dated from the same place, and on the same day; and this (xvi. 6) is the third.

*Quo haberem quid scriberem.*] "Than that I have any thing to say." This 'quo' is the same as 'quod,' in "non quod haberem," which might be the form of expression if the words from 'magis instituti' to 'quam' were omitted; and it might be translated, "not as having;" "not that I have." There is a reading 'quod haberem.'

*Igitur illa:*] This epistolary brevity is common in Cicero's familiar letters. He had nothing new to say, and therefore he could only say what he had said before. See the end of xvi. 2. There is a play on the words 'diligis' and 'diligentia,' as on 'ferreus' and 'ferre.' De Am. c. 23.

17. Septimum jam] "This is now the seventh day that we ar

pater et filius Buthroti. Solliciti eramus de tua valetudine mirum in modum, nec mirabamur nihil a te literarum. Iis enim ventis istinc navigatur qui si essent, nos Corcyrae non sederemus. Cura igitur te et confirma: et quum commode et per valetudinem et per anni tempus navigare poteris, ad nos amantissimos tui veni. Nemo nos amat qui te non diligat. Carus omnibus expectatusque venies. Cura ut valeas etiam atque etiam, Tiro noster. Vale. xv. Kalend. Decembr. Corcyra.

## 18. CICERO F. TIRONI SUO S.

(xvi. 25. A. U. C. 710.)

Etsi justa et idonea usus es excusatione intermissionis literarum tuarum, tamen id ne saepius facias rogo. Nam etsi de re publica rumoribus et nuntiis certior fio, et de sua in me voluntate semper ad me perscribit pater, tamen de quavis minima re scripta a te ad me epistola semper fuit gratissima. Quare quum in primis tuas desiderem literas, noli committere ut excusatione potius expleas officium scribendi quam assiduitate epistolarum. Vale.

detained at Corcyra (Corfu)." Quintus and his son had got to Buthrotum (Butrinto) on the mainland.

*Iis enim*, &c.] "For if that wind had been blowing which brings a vessel from Patrae where you are (istinc), we should not have been waiting at Corcyra." The 'iis' and 'qui' seem to us to have changed places, and cases; but this is a Roman fashion of writing.

*Per valetudinem*] "When both your health and the season of the year shall permit." See Key's Grammar on this use of 'per,' 1350.

*Nemo nos*, &c.] This may be mistranslated. It means: 'no one is a friend of mine, who does not (if he does not) love you.'

18. A letter from Marcus Cicero the son, then a student at Athens, to Tiro.

*Noli committere*] The use of 'noli' is learned by such examples as this. It is not the same as 'ne committas,' but as much as to say "I pray that you will not;" "I urge you not." Comp. De Senect. c. 22: 'Nolite arbitrari.'

## 19. CICERO SERVIO S.

(XIII. 20. A. U. C. 708.)

Asclapone Patrensi medico utor familiariter, ejusque quum consuetudo mihi jucunda fuit, tum ars etiam, quam sum expertus in valetudine meorum. In qua mihi quum ipsa scientia, tum etiam fidelitate benevolentiaque satisfecit. Hunc igitur tibi commendo, et a te peto ut des operam ut intelligat diligenter me scripsisse de sese, meamque commendationem usui magno sibi fuisse. Erit id mihi vehementer gratum.

## 20. CICERO SERVIO S.

(XIII. 25. A. U. C. 708.)

Hegesaratus Larissaeus magnis meis beneficiis ornatus in consulatu meo memor et gratus fuit, meque postea diligentissime coluit. Eum tibi magno opere commendo ut et hospitem meum et familiarem et gratum hominem et virum bonum et principem civitatis suae et tua necessitudine dignissimum. Pergratum mihi feceris, si dederis operam ut is intelligat hanc meam commendationem magnum apud te pondus habuisse.

## 21. CICERO MEMMIO S.

(XIII. 3. A. U. C. 704.)

A. Fufium unum ex meis intimis, observantissimum studiosissimumque nostri, eruditum hominem et summa humanitate, tuaque amicitia dignissimum, velim ita tractes

19. A letter addressed to Servius Sulpicius, one of the most illustrious of the Romans, a jurist, an orator, and a statesman. He was made proconsul of Achaia by C. Julius *Caesar*, and during his residence *in Achaia* Cicero sent him this *letter of* recommendation. Asclapo was the physician of Tiro at Patrae (Ad Div. xvi. 9).

21. A letter to C. Memmius, who was at this time living in exile at Mytilene. This is the Memmius to whom Lucretius dedicated his poem.

ut mihi coram recepisti. Tam gratum mihi id erit quam quod gratissimum. Ipsum praeterea summo officio et summa observantia tibi in perpetuum devinxeris.

## 22. CICERO CORNIFICIO.

(xii. 21. a. u. c. 710.)

C. Anicius, familiaris meus, vir omnibus rebus ornatus, negotiorum suorum causa legatus est in Africam legatione libera. Eum velim rebus omnibus adjuves, operamque des ut quam commodissime sua negotia conficiat; in primisque, quod ei carissimum est, dignitatem ejus tibi commendo: idque a te peto quod ipse in provincia facere sum solitus non rogatus, ut omnibus Senatoribus lictores darem; quod idem acceperam et id cognoveram a summis viris factitatum. Hoc igitur, mi Cornifici, facies: ceterisque rebus omnibus ejus dignitati reique, si me amas, consules. Erit id mihi gratissimum. Da operam ut valeas.

## 23. CICERO CORNIFICIO S.

(xii. 27. a. u. c. 710.)

Sex. Aufidius et observantia qua me colit accedit ad prox-

*Recepisti.*] "As you promised to me when I saw you." As to 'recipere,' and other words with 're,' see De Am. c. 14.

22. A letter to Q. Cornificius, who was at this time in the Roman province of Africa, which he held for the Senate after the death of Caesar.

*Negotiorum*] Anicius had gone to Africa to look after his money affairs, and he had obtained what was called a "legatio libera," a kind of nominal commission given by the Senate to those of their own body who went out of Italy, *in order that they might* be treated with more consideration and respect. The provincials were also required to furnish him who had a "legatio libera" with certain things while he was on the road, lodgings, fodder for cattle, and the like.

*Lictores*] Cicero asks Cornificius to give Anicius lictors to attend him, which would be a mark of honour, for the lictor and his fasces were the symbols of Roman authority. Cicero says that he had received the same honour himself (quod idem acceperam) on like occasions; and he knows that what he asks had been done by men of the first character.

imos, et splendore equiti Romano nemini cedit. Est autem ita temperatis moderatisque moribus ut summa severitas summa cum humanitate jungatur. Cujus tibi negotia quae sunt in Africa ita commendo ut majore studio magisve ex animo commendare non possim. Pergratum mihi feceris, si dederis operam ut is intelligat meas apud te literas maximum pondus habuisse. Hoc te vehementer, mi Cornifici, rogo.

## 24. CICERO S. D. CORNIFICIO COLLEGAE.

(XII. 17. A. U. C. 709.)

Grata mihi vehementer est memoria nostri tua quam significasti literis; quam ut conserves, non quo de tua constantia dubitem sed quia mos est ita rogandi, rogo. Ex Syria nobis tumultuosiora quaedam nuntiata sunt; quae, quia tibi sunt propiora quam nobis, tua me causa magis movent quam mea. Romae summum otium est, sed ita ut malis salubre aliquod et honestum negotium: quod spero fore. Video id curae esse Caesari. Me scito, dum tu absis, quasi occasionem quandam et licentiam nactum scribere audacius; et cetera quidem fortasse quae etiam

23. *Severitas—humanitate*, &c.] "Further (autem) he is a man whose character is so tempered and governed as to combine the greatest gravity with the greatest suavity." I do not offer this as the best translation that can be made of 'temperatis,' 'moderatis,' 'severitas,' 'humanitas;' but to suggest that care should be taken in the rendering of such terms, the proper understanding of which is one of the greatest difficulties of the Latin language.

24. *Collegae.*] Cornificius and *Cicero were* members of the col*lege of Augurs*. Cornificius was *governor of* Syria in B.C. 45. It is difficult to determine from this letter whether it was addressed to him in Syria or in Africa. "Tibi sunt propiora" is quite consistent with Cornificius being in Africa; to which the words "ista solitudine" are more applicable than to Syria.

*Otium—negotium:*] Cicero is playing on these words. There was complete quiet at Rome under Caesar's rule; but Cicero says that a man would rather see something doing, if it were for the good of the state, and for its credit. He hopes that something will be done in that way, and Caesar, he says, is thinking of it.

tu concederes: sed proxime scripsi de optimo genere dicendi, in quo saepe suspicatus sum te a judicio nostro, sic scilicet ut doctum hominem ab non indocto, paullulum dissidere. Huic tu libro maxime velim ex animo, si minus, gratiae causa suffragere. Dicam tuis ut eum, si velint, describant ad teque mittant. Puto enim, etiamsi rem minus probabis, tamen in ista solitudine quidquid a me profectum sit jucundum tibi fore. Quod mihi existimationem tuam dignitatemque commendas, facis tu quidem omnium more; sed velim sic existimes, me quum amori quem inter nos mutuum esse intelligam plurimum tribuam, tum de summo ingenio et de studiis tuis optimis et de spe amplissimae dignitatis ita judicare ut neminem tibi anteponam, comparem paucos.

## 25. D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DESIGN. S. D. CICERONI.

(XI. 4. A. U. C. 710.)

Si de tua in me voluntate dubitarem, multis a te verbis peterem ut dignitatem meam tuerere. Sed profecto est ita, ut mihi persuasi, me tibi esse curae. Progressus sum ad Inalpinos cum exercitu, non tam nomen imperatorium

*De optimo*, &c.] This is the extant treatise De Oratore, in three books.

*Describant*] The 'tuis' may be some of the slaves or freedmen of Cornificius; though the expression 'si velint' may seem to make 'tuis' mean the friends of Cornificius at Rome. However, Cicero says that he will tell them, whoever they may be, to make a copy of the work and send it to Cornificius, for it might give him some amusement in the solitude of his province. *This copying* of books *in Cicero's time gave* employment to a good many persons, principally slaves. How well and how quickly a book may be copied, may be seen from the way in which legal pleadings and instruments are now copied by law stationers.

25. A letter from Decimus Brutus, one of the assassins of Caesar, written (B.C. 44) from Cisalpine Gaul, which province he held after Caesar's death.

*Inalpinos*] This was a name for any of the people who lived in the Alps (Plin. H. N. iii. 4, 5). Brutus led his men against the mountaineers to keep them in

captans quam cupiens militibus satisfacere, firmosque eos ad tuendas nostras res efficere. Quod mihi videor consecutus; nam et liberalitatem nostram et animum sunt experti. Cum omnium bellicosissimis bellum gessi; multa castella cepi; multa vastavi. Non sine causa ad Senatum literas misi. Adjuva nos tua sententia, quod quum facies, ex magna parte communi commodo inservieris.

## 26. M. CICERO D. BRUTO COS. DES. S. D.

(XI. 15. A. U. C. 711.)

Etsi mihi tuae literae jucundissimae sunt, tamen jucundius fuit, quod in summa occupatione tua Planco collegae mandasti ut te mihi per literas excusaret; quod fecit ille diligenter. Mihi autem nihil amabilius officio tuo et diligentia. Conjunctio tua cum collega, concordiaque vestra quae literis communibus declarata est, S. P. Q. R. gratissima accidit. Quod superest, perge, mi Brute, et jam non cum aliis sed tecum ipse certa. Plura scribere non debeo, praesertim ad te quo magistro brevitatis uti

good humour. It was an amusement for the soldiers, and practice; but ruin and death to the poor people of the Alps.

*Ad Senatum literas*] This is an expression used to signify a general or governor sending to the senate an official account of his victories or other success.

*Adjuva nos*] It appears that he wanted the honour of a 'supplicatio,' a kind of religious thanksgiving for his success, such as we find mentioned in Caesar (Bell. Gall. ii. 35): "ob easque res ex literis Caesaris dies xv. supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli."

*26. Planco*] L. Munatius Plancus, who was now governor of Transalpine Gaul, soon deserted his colleague, as Cicero calls him, and joined M. Antonius.

*Mandasti*] "You gave instructions," or "you commissioned." 'Mando' is not a word of command, though a 'mandatum' may come from one who commands. It signifies instructing some one to do something for us; hence the law of 'mandatum' (Dig. 17, tit. 1) corresponds partly not entirely to our law of agency. A letter to Marius (vii. 2) begins thus: "mandatum tuum curabo diligenter."

*S. P. Q. R.*] The common abbreviation for Senatus populusque Romanus, the official designation of the Roman Res Publica, or Commonwealth.

cogito. Literas tuas vehementer exspecto, et quidem tales quales maxime opto.

## 27. M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO.

(XI. 25. A. U. C. 711.)

Exspectanti mihi tuas quotidie literas Lupus noster subito denuntiavit ut ad te scriberem, si quid vellem. Ego autem, etsi quid scriberem non habebam, acta enim ad te mitti sciebam, inanem autem sermonem literarum tibi injucundum esse audiebam, brevitatem secutus sum te magistro. Scito igitur in te et in collega spem omnem esse. De Bruto autem nihil adhuc certi: quem ego, quemadmodum praecipis, privatis literis ad bellum commune vocare non desino. Qui utinam jam adesset: intestinum Urbis malum, quod est non mediocre, minus timeremus. Sed quid ago? non imitor Λακωνισμὸν tuum: altera jam pagella procedit. Vince et vale. XIV. Kal. Quintiles.

27. *Denuntiavit*] Here signifies, "gave me notice to write, if I had any thing to say," for this was an opportunity.

*Acta*] These 'acta,' sometimes simply called 'acta,' sometimes with the addition of the words 'diurna,' 'publica,' and other names, were a kind of gazette. They contained the news of the day, briefly expressed without any remarks. They were published by transcription, and often copied and sent into the provinces.

*Brevitatem—te magistro.*] He again alludes to the epistolary brevity of Brutus, whom he calls his 'magister,' or teacher in this matter.

*De Bruto*] M. Junius Brutus, who was now raising a force in the east, while Cassius was doing the same. Cicero wrote this letter in June: *in the beginning* of the December following he was murdered in the proscription of the Triumviri. Brutus and Cassius in the following year (B.C. 42) were defeated at Philippi.

*Intestinum*] He alludes, says Manutius, to a party who wished to make Octavianus consul after the death of Hirtius and Pansa (Ad Div. X. 14, 22, 24). 'Intestinus' is a word formed like 'clandestinus.'

*Altera—pagella*] 'Pagella,' a diminutive from 'pagina,' of which the regular form would be 'pagi-nula.' The diminutives in 'ellus,' 'ella,' are numerous, as 'asellus,' 'puella.'

The page on which Cicero wrote this letter must have been a small one, if so few lines (versus) filled it, and he was already beginning a second page. Manutius has a note on this subject.

## 28. M. CICERO S. D. M. MARIO.

(VII. 4. A. U. C. 708.)

A. d. IX. Kal. in Cumanum veni cum Libone tuo, vel nostro potius. In Pompeianum statim cogito; sed faciam ante te certiorem. Te quum semper valere cupio, tum certe dum hic sumus. Vides enim quanto post una futuri sumus. Quare si quod constitutum cum podagra habes, fac ut in alium diem differas. Cura igitur ut valeas, et me hoc biduo aut triduo exspecta.

## 29. CICERO PLANCO.

(X. 13. A. U. C. 711.)

Ut primum mihi potestas data est augendae dignitatis tuae, nihil praetermisi in te ornando quod positum esset

28. *Cogito;*] 'Ire' to be supplied, or some such word; an instance of familiar epistolary brevity. Pompeianum was one of Cicero's many villae, situated near Pompeii, the Campanian city which was buried by the eruptions of Vesuvius, and restored to light again in modern times.

*Vides enim—sumus.*] These words are omitted in some editions. 'Sumus,' as Orelli observes, is the right reading, not 'simus.' "Quanto post" means "how soon we are going to be together;" literally, "by how much time after this date." Manutius rightly dissents from those who make 'quanto post' equivalent to 'multo post.' It means simply, 'after what time,' which the context shows to be a short time.

*Constitutum*] This is a legal *term, signifying* an agreement to *do something,* which a person is *bound to* do, as an agreement to pay a sum of money at a fixed time or place; which Cicero in a jocular way applies to the complaint of Marius—gout, or whatever it might be that the Romans were so much troubled with: "If you have made any engagement with your podagra (to have it on a certain day), see that you put it off to another day." This use of 'constituo,' and like uses, are very common in Cicero; and the Title of the Digest (13, tit. 5, &c., 'de Pecunia constituta') contains examples to explain it.

*Hoc biduo,* &c.] "Within these two or three days." See 'quanto post,' Ep. 28; and De Sen. c. 6.

29. This letter is addressed to L. Munatius Plancus, who was at this time, together with D. Brutus, opposed to M. Antonius then in north Italy. Ep. 26.

*Ut primum*] 'As soon as.' As to this use of 'ut' with the perfect indic. see Ad Q. Fr. c. 8.

aut in praemio virtutis aut in honore verborum. Id ex ipso Senatus consulto poteris cognoscere. Ita enim est perscriptum ut a me de scripto dicta sententia est, quam Senatus frequens secutus est summo studio magnoque consensu. Ego quamquam ex tuis literis, quas mihi misisti, perspexeram te magis judicio bonorum quam insignibus gloriae delectari, tamen considerandum nobis existimavi, etiamsi tu nihil postulares, quantum tibi a re publica deberetur. Tu contexes extrema cum primis. Qui enim M. Antonium oppresserit, is bellum confecerit. Itaque Homerus non Ajacem, nec Achillem, sed Ulixem appellavit πτολίπορθον. Vale.

## 30. CICERO PLANCO S.

(x. 14. A. U. C. 711.)

O gratam famam biduo ante victoriam de subsidio tuo, de studio, de celeritate, de copiis! Atque etiam hostibus fusis spes omnis est in te. Fugisse enim ex praelio Mutinensi dicuntur notissimi latronum duces. Est autem non minus gratum extrema delere quam prima depellere. Equidem exspectabam jam tuas literas idque cum multis: sperabamque etiam Lepidum rei publicae temporibus admonitum tecum et cum re publica esse facturum. In illam igitur curam incumbe, mi Plance, ut ne quae scin-

*Ex—Senatus consulto*] A consultum of the senate, or vote of thanks to Plancus for his services, the terms of which, as Cicero says, were in accordance with a written proposal of his own, and were copied from his dictation, and approved by a full (frequens) senatus. This 'senatus consultum' was the 'insignia gloriae.'

*Contexes*] A metaphor from weaving, "you will finish what others have begun; fit the end and beginning together."

30. *Victoriam*] The battle of Mutina, in which M. Antonius was defeated before Plancus could come to the relief of D. Brutus.

*Lepidum*] M. Aemilius Lepidus, who commanded a force in the north, a 'slight unmeritable man' (as Shakspere calls him), who afterwards joined M. Antonius and Octavianus Caesar in forming the triumvirate, and proscribing Cicero and others.

tilla teterrimi belli relinquatur. Quod si erit factum, et rem publicam divino beneficio affeceris, et ipse aeternam gloriam consequere. D. III. Non. Mai.

## 31. CICERO PAETO.

(IX. 23. A. U. C. 708.)

Heri veni in Cumanum: cras ad te fortasse. Sed quum certum sciam, faciam te paullo ante certiorem. Etsi M. Caeparius, quum mihi in silva Gallinaria obviam venisset, quaesissemque quid ageres, dixit te in lecto esse quod ex pedibus laborares. Tuli scilicet moleste, ut debui; sed tamen constitui ad te venire ut et viderem te et viserem et caenarem etiam. Non enim arbitror cocum etiam te arthriticum habere. Exspecta igitur hospitem quum minime edacem tum inimicum caenis sumptuosis.

## 32. CICERO DOLABELLAE.

(IX. 12. A. U. C. 709.)

Gratulor Baiis nostris, siquidem, ut scribis, salubres re-

*Affeceris, — consequere.*] The difference in these two tenses is apparent: "if this shall be accomplished, you will have done the state a service, like a blessing from the gods, and you will acquire everlasting renown."

31. *Silva Gallinaria*] This was a pine forest, in a low sandy country, on the coast of Campania, near Liternum. In Juvenal's time (Sat. iii. 308) it was the resort of robbers.

*Quaesissem*] The proper term used in asking a question. Cicero asked, how Paetus was.

*Ex pedibus laborares.*] Podagra (see No. 28) or arthritis. Cicero expresses a hope that, if the master is troubled with arthritis, his cook is not.

*Viderem te et viserem*] 'Viso,' one of the derivatives of 'vide-o,' is often used to signify the paying of a visit to a sick person. Though it may be sometimes used pretty much like 'video,' it generally seems to signify 'to go for the purpose of seeing;' while 'vide-o' generally expresses the simple act of perception.

32. A letter to P. Cornelius Dolabella, the third husband of Cicero's daughter Tullia.

*Baiae*] A place on the coast of Campania, on the west side of the bay of Naples, and near Puteoli (Pozzuoli). It was a favourite resort of the wealthy Romans, who came to enjoy the sea and the hot springs; but the place was not healthy, according to Cicero. In

pente factae sunt; nisi forte te amant et tibi assentantur, et tamdiu dum tu ades sunt oblitae sui. Quod quidem si ita est, minime miror caelum etiam et terras vim suam, si tibi ita conveniat, dimittere. Oratiunculam pro Deiotaro quam requirebas habebam mecum, quod non putaram. Itaque eam tibi misi, quam velim sic legas ut causam tenuem et inopem nec scriptione magno opere dignam. Sed ego hospiti veteri et amico munusculum mittere [volui] levidense, crasso filo, cujusmodi ipsius solent esse munera. Tu velim animo sapienti fortique sis ut tua moderatio et gravitas aliorum infamet injuriam.

## 33. M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR.

(II. 14. A. U. C. 704.)

M. Fabio, viro optimo et homine doctissimo, familiarissime utor mirificeque eum diligo, quum propter summum ingenium ejus summamque doctrinam tum propter singularem modestiam. Ejus negotium sic velim suscipias ut si esset res mea. Novi ego vos magnos patronos: hominem

Augustus' time Antonius Musa brought his cold water treatment into use, and recommended Horace not to visit Baiae. (Horat. Ep. i. 1, v. 83, and 15, v. 2, and the note in Macleane's ed.)

*Pro Deiotaro*] This oration in favour of this old king of Galatia, delivered at Rome B.C. 45, is extant. It is good enough for the subject, as Cicero says.

*Levidense,*] This word is said to be applied to cloth, of which the threads are loosely packed together, not close (raro filo). See Forcellini. As to 'crasso filo,' see De Am. c. 7.

*Infamet*] "That your moderation and sober behaviour may put to shame men's evil words." This is the meaning of 'injuria' here. 'Injuria' has various meanings; but "specialiter injuria dicitur contumelia." (Ulp. Dig. 47, 10, 1.)

33. A letter from Cicero when he was proconsul of Cilicia, to M. Caelius, who was then aedilis curulis at Rome.

*Patronos:*] The original sense of this word appears in the relation of 'patronus' and 'cliens.' 'Patronus' was used in Cicero's time to signify an orator, who undertook to manage a man's cause for him. Cicero says, "I know the ways of you great patroni; a man must commit murder, if he would have the benefit of your assistance." You will not undertake small matters.

occidat oportet qui vestra opera uti velit; sed in hoc homine nullam accipio excusationem. Omnia relinques si me amabis, quum tua opera Fabius uti volet. Ego res Romanas vehementer exspecto et desidero; in primisque quid agas scire cupio. Nam jamdiu propter hiemis magnitudinem nihil novi ad nos afferebatur.

## 34. CICERO CASSIO S.

(XII. 6. A. U. C. 711.)

Qui status rerum fuerit tum quum has litteras dedi, scire poteris ex C. Tidio Strabone, viro bono et optime de re publica sentiente; nam quid dicam cupidissimo tui, qui domo et fortunis relictis ad te potissimum profectus sit? Itaque eum tibi ne commendo quidem: adventus ipsius ad te satis eum commendabit. Tu velim sic existimes tibique persuadeas, omne perfugium bonorum in te et Bruto esse positum, si quod nolim adversi quid evenerit. Res quum haec scribebam erat in extremum adducta discrimen. Brutus enim Mutinae vix jam sustinebat. Qui si conservatus erit, vicimus: sin—quod Dii omen avertant, omnis omnium cursus est ad vos. Proinde fac animum tantum habeas tantumque apparatum quanto opus est ad universam rem publicam reciperandam. Vale.

*Quid agas*] This does not mean what you are doing, though it may mean that, and often does. It means, how you are, as Horace's troublesome friend says to him, "Quid agis, dulcissime rerum." (Sat. i. 9, v. 4.)

34. A letter to C. Cassius Longinus, one of the assassins of Caesar, who was now in Syria raising a force to oppose Dolabella, Cicero's *former* son-in-law.

*Tidio*] Perhaps this should be '*Titio.*' See No. 38.

*Qui—profectus sit?*] "Very much attached, as is proved by his coming to you." This is the meaning of 'qui—profectus sit.' 'Cupidissimus tui,' 'one who is devoted to your service,' may be compared with the usual formula, "cupio omnia quae vis." (Hor. Sat. i. 9, v. 5.)

*Te et Bruto*] M. Junius Brutus, who was in Macedonia. The other Brutus is Decimus, to whom a previous letter (No. 25, &c.) is addressed.

## 35. CICERO CASSIO S.

(XII. 9. A. U. C. 711.)

Brevitas tuarum literarum me quoque breviorem in scribendo facit; et vere ut dicam, non satis occurrit quid scribam. Nostras enim res in actis perferri ad te certo scio; tuas autem ignoramus. Tamquam enim clausa sit Asia, sic nihil perfertur ad nos praeter rumores de oppresso Dolabella, satis illos quidem constantes, sed adhuc sine auctore. Nos confectum bellum quum putaremus, repente a Lepido tuo in summam sollicitudinem sumus adducti. Itaque tibi persuade maximam rei publicae spem in te et in tuis copiis esse. Firmos omnino exercitus habemus: sed tamen ut omnia, ut spero, prospere procedant, multum interest te venire. Exigua enim spes est rei publicae; nam nullam non libet dicere: sed quaecumque est, ea despondetur anno consulatus tui. Vale.

## 36. CICERO ACILIO PROCOS. S.

(XIII. 30. A. U. C. 708.)

L. Manlius est Sosis. Is fuit Catinensis: sed est una

35. *In actis*] See No. 27.

*Oppresso Dolabella,*] Dolabella was a partizan of the assassins of Caesar, but he was gained over by M. Antonius, who procured for him the governorship of Syria, which Cassius also claimed. In B.C. 43, Cassius took Laodicea, where Dolabella was, who, to avoid falling into the hands of Cassius, ordered a soldier to kill him.

*Lepido tuo*] M. Aemilius Lepidus married a half sister of M. Junius Brutus, the favourite and the assassin of C. Julius Caesar. Cassius also married a half sister of M. Junius Brutus.

*Despondetur*] A word applied to betrothing a woman to a man: "whatever hope there is, it is betrothed (promised) to the year of your consulship."

36. A letter to M'. Acilius Glabrio, who now held the proconsular office in Sicily, while Caesar, to whose party he belonged, was engaged in the African war.

*L. Manlius est Sosis.*] "There is one L. Manlius Sosis." The first two names are Roman; the third is Sicilian or Greek. This is a common form: "C. Sulpicius Olympus fuit" (Verr. ii. 1, c. 48); "Cn. Pompeius est Philo" (ii. 4, c. 22).

*Catinensis :*] He was once a citizen of Catina (Catania) in Sicily; but after the passing of the

cum reliquis Neapolitanis civis Romanus factus, decurioque Neapoli: erat enim adscriptus in id municipium ante civitatem sociis et Latinis datam. Ejus frater Catinae nuper mortuus est. Nullam omnino arbitramur de ea hereditate controversiam eum habiturum; et est hodie in bonis. Sed quoniam habet praeterea negotia vetera in Sicilia sua, et hanc hereditatem fraternam et omnia ejus tibi commendo, in primisque ipsum virum optimum mihique familiarissimum, iis studiis literarum doctrinaeque praeditum quibus ego maxime delector. Peto igitur abs te ut eum, sive aderit sive non venerit in Siciliam, in meis intimis maximeque necessariis scias esse; itaque tractes ut intelligat meam sibi commendationem magno adjumento fuisse.

## 37. M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

(II. 4. A. U. C. 701.)

Epistolarum genera multa esse non ignoras; sed unum

Lex Julia (B.C. 90) he became a Roman citizen, for this lex gave the Roman citizenship (civitas) to the Socii and Latini, who were citizens of Italian towns before the enactment of the lex. A lex of the year B.C. 89, called Plautia Papiria, seems to have had for its object to explain the Lex Julia, or to make some additional provision as to those who had become members (adscripti) of Italian towns before the passing of the Lex Julia.

*Decurio*] Decuriones in Italian municipal towns were the members of the senates of municipal towns. Sosis was a senator (decurio) of Naples.

*In bonis.*] 'Bona' is a Roman *law term,* which signifies 'a whole *property:*' "et est hodie in bonis" *means* '*it* is already in his possession:' the nominative to 'est' is 'hereditas.' Thus the expression is equivalent to "habere in bonis" (Ulp. Dig. 27, 10, 10): to have as a part of a man's property, to hold, to be in possession of. But a man is not said 'esse in bonis:' it is the thing spoken of that is 'in bonis.' Cicero supposes that there will be no difficulty about the 'hereditas,' or 'succession:' because Sosis was in possession, and nobody disputed his title.

*Negotia vetera*] From 'negotiari' is formed the word 'negotiator.' See Ad Q. Fr. c. 1. Sosis had affairs in Sicily to settle, money to get in.

37. A letter to C. Scribonius Curio, about nothing at all; but a specimen of what Cicero could say, though he had nothing to write about.

illud certissimum cujus causa inventa res ipsa est, ut certiores faceremus absentes, si quid esset quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset. Hujus generis literas a me profecto non exspectas. Tuarum enim rerum domesticos habes et scriptores et nuntios. In meis autem rebus nihil est sane novi. Reliqua sunt epistolarum genera duo quae me magno opere delectant; unum familiare et jocosum, alterum severum et grave. Utro me minus deceat uti non intelligo. Jocerne tecum per literas? Civem mehercule non puto esse qui temporibus his ridere possit. An gravius aliquid scribam? quid est quod possit graviter a Cicerone scribi ad Curionem nisi de re publica? Atque in hoc genere haec mea causa est, ut neque ea quae nunc sentio velim scribere. Quamobrem, quoniam mihi nullum scribendi argumentum relictum est, utar ea clausula qua soleo, teque ad studium summae laudis cohortabor. Est enim tibi gravis adversaria constituta et parata, incredibilis quaedam exspectatio, quam tu una re facillime vinces, si hoc statueris, quarum laudum gloriam adamaris, quibus artibus eae laudes comparantur, in iis esse elaborandum. In hanc sententiam scriberem plura, nisi te tua sponte satis incitatum esse confiderem: et hoc quidquid attigi non feci inflammandi tui causa sed testificandi amoris mei.

*Nostra aut ipsorum*] Professor Key (Grammar, 910) explains 'nostra interest' to be a corruption of 'nostram inter rem est.' If the explanation is correct, the genitive with 'interest' is easily explained.

*Neque ea*] Perhaps something is omitted, for we should expect another 'neque' or 'nec,' followed by something else. Süpfle has 'ut ne ea quidem quae,' which is a very probable emendation. He observes that 'neque' in the sense of 'not even' is used by Livy, Tacitus, and later writers, but not by Cicero. Still this single example in Cicero may be genuine.

*Exspectatio,*] Curio was now quaestor in Asia, where his conduct, as Cicero says, gave great hopes of his future career. On his return he was elected tribunus plebis, B.C. 50, at a time when Caesar and Cn. Pompeius held all the power, and were ready for a quarrel.

## 38. CICERO BRUTO S.

(XIII. 14. A. U. C. 708.)

L. Titio Strabone, equite Romano, in primis honesto et ornato familiarissime utor. Omnia mihi cum eo intercedunt jura summae necessitudinis. Huic in tua provincia pecuniam debet P. Cornelius. Ea res a Volcatio, qui Romae jus dicit, rejecta in Galliam est. Peto a te hoc diligentius quam si mea res esset, quo est honestius de amicorum pecunia laborare quam de sua, ut negotium conficiendum cures, ipse suscipias, transigas, operamque des, quoad tibi aequum et rectum videbitur, ut quam commodissima conditione libertus Strabonis, qui ejus rei causa missus est, negotium conficiat ad nummosque perveniat. Id et mihi gratissimum erit, et tu ipse L. Titium cognosces amicitia tua dignissimum. Quod ut tibi curae sit, ut omnia solent esse quae me velle scis, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

38. A letter addressed to M. Junius Brutus, who was now governor of Gallia Cisalpina, to which office he had been appointed by Caesar.

*Jura*, &c.] In xiii. 12, in another letter to M. Brutus, Cicero uses the expression "Q. Fufidium quocum mihi omnes necessitudines sunt." 'Necessitudo' means 'close intimacy.' The expression "jura summae," &c., is one of that kind, which renders the Latin language so difficult to translate. There is no difficulty about the meaning of 'jura' (De Sen. c. 9), but it is not used here in its strict sense; and the application of it to 'necessitudo' makes the difficulty. It may be translated: "between *him* and me there exist all the *mutual* claims of the greatest intimacy."

*Jus dicit,*] Volcatius was praetor urbanus at Rome (jus dicebat). The money was apparently payable in Gallia, for Volcatius had refused to take cognizance of the matter at Rome, and had referred it to the jurisdictio of Brutus in Gallia. Cicero says (Verr. ii. 3, c. 60) "postulat abs te ut Romam rem rejicias."

*Conditione*] "On the most favourable terms;" he adds, "consistently with equity and what is right." But still it is a letter in favour of a suitor, written to the man who was to decide on the matter in question, and to help the agent of Strabo to get at the money.

## 39. CICERO TREBATIO.

(VII. 7. A. U C 700.)

Ego te commendare non desisto; sed quid proficiam ex te scire cupio. Spem maximam habeo in Balbo ad quem de te diligentissime et saepissime scribo. Illud soleo mirari, non me toties accipere tuas literas quoties a Quinto mihi fratre afferantur. In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquod capias suadeo, et ad nos quam primum recurras. Sin autem sine Britannia tamen assequi quod volumus possumus, perfice ut sis in familiaribus Caesaris. Multum te in eo frater adjuvabit meus, multum Balbus; sed, mihi crede, tuus pudor et labor plurimum. Imperatorem liberalissimum, aetatem opportunissimam, commendationem certe singularem, ut tibi unum timendum sit ne ipse tibi defuisse videare.

39. A letter from Cicero to Trebatius, whom he had recommended to Caesar, who was then proconsul in Gallia (Ad Div. vii. 5). C. Trebatius Testa was a jurisconsultus, and had no taste for military affairs. Horace was acquainted with Trebatius, to whom he addressed the first satire of the Second Book.

*Balbo*] L. Cornelius Balbus, a friend of Caesar, with whom he was in Gallia, at least during part of Caesar's time there, in the capacity of praefectus fabrum, or chief of the engineers.

There is a speech of Cicero extant in behalf of this Balbus, delivered B.C. 55.

*Britannia*] Caesar was now preparing for his second British expedition, B.C. 54.

*Neque auri*] Cicero says the same in a letter to Atticus (iv. 16); and adds, 'there was no hope of booty.' The Romans afterwards found that the island contained better things than gold or silver.

*Essedum*] This was the name, probably a British word with a Roman termination, of the war-chariots which the Britons used (Caesar, Bell. Gall. iv. 33). Cicero supposed that Trebatius would accompany Caesar to Britain, but he did not go.

*Sine Britannia*] He hopes that he may obtain Caesar's favour, even if he did not accompany him.

*Singularem,*] After this word some editions add 'habes;' but it appears to be added by some copyist, and it is not wanted.

## 40. M. CICERO S. D. TREBATIO.

(VII. 10. A. U. C. 701.)

Legi tuas literas ex quibus intellexi te Caesari nostro valde jure consultum videri. Est quod gaudeas te in ista loca venisse ubi aliquid sapere viderere. Quod si in Britanniam quoque profectus esses, profecto nemo in illa tanta insula peritior te fuisset. Verumtamen—rideamus licet, sum enim a te invitatus—subinvideo tibi ultro te etiam arcessitum ab eo ad quem ceteri non propter superbiam ejus sed propter occupationem adspirare non possunt. Sed tu in ista epistola nihil mihi scripsisti de tuis rebus, quae mehercule mihi non minori curae sunt quam meae. Valde metuo ne frigeas in hibernis. Quamobrem camino luculento utendum censeo; idem Mucio et

40. *Jure consultum*] Cicero in his letters to Trebatius often jokes about his legal studies. Trebatius did not enjoy the very highest reputation at Rome as a lawyer, wherefore Cicero says, "You have reason to be glad that you have got into those parts where you would be considered to know something." A lawyer in Gallia or in Britain at that time would be a rarity. I have followed Süpfle in writing here 'jure consultum' as two words; for it means 'very learned in the law.'

*Sum enim a te invitatus*] Trebatius, it appears, had set Cicero the example of joking or bantering.

*Ultro—arcessitum*] Trebatius was proud of having had an invitation from Caesar, of which he informed Cicero. (As to 'ultro,' see De Sen. c. 11.) Caesar was always *working*, planning his campaigns, *meditating* his ambitious designs, *or writing*. He was always busy. No man worked harder than this the most accomplished of the Romans. Like all men of real talent, he was always doing something.

*Adspirare*] We have exactly copied this Roman expression, which Cicero uses several times.

*Ne frigeas*] Trebatius was spending the winter in the northern part of Gallia. Cicero is perhaps playing on the word 'frigeas,' which also means "having nothing to do;" for he was of no use to Caesar. He recommends him to keep a good fire. 'Caminus,' though the origin of our word chimney, does not mean a chimney. Manutius has a note on the 'caminus.' In the camp it might be a brazier, or something of the kind.

*Mucio et Manilio*] They were lawyers. Nothing is known of this Manilius, so far as I can find. Mucius may be Q. Mucius Scaevola, one of the cohors of Q. Cicero in his Asiatic praetorship, and tribunus plebis, B.C. 54. Q. Mucius is

Manilio placebat, praesertim qui sagis non abundares. Quamquam vos nunc istic satis calere audio; quo quidem nuntio valde mehercule de te timueram. Sed tu in re militari multo es cautior quam in advocationibus; qui neque in Oceano natare volueris studiosissimus homo natandi, neque spectare essedarios, quem antea ne andabatam quidem defraudare poteramus.

Sed jam satis jocati sumus. Ego de te ad Caesarem quam diligenter scripserim tute scis; quam saepe ego. Sed mehercule jam intermiseram ne viderer liberalissimi hominis meique amantissimi voluntati erga me diffidere. Sed tamen iis literis quas proxime dedi putavi esse hominem commonendum. Id feci. Quid profecerim

mentioned in the Digest (1, tit. 2, s. 2, § 45) as a contemporary of Trebatius. Cicero is still bantering Trebatius about his profession. 'Praesertim qui,' &c. "especially as you have no large stock of military cloaks." The 'sagum' was the dress in the camp, and often opposed to 'toga,' the civil dress. This is an allusion to the little turn for war that his friend had; or to his poverty.

*Abundares.*] This tense depends on 'placebat.'

*Istic satis calere*] "Are warm enough where you are;" have plenty to do, as opposed to 'frigere.' Cicero appears to be alluding to the state of affairs in Gallia in the winter of B.C. 54. (Caesar, B. G. v. 24, &c.)

*Cautior*] This is a play on the word. One of the duties of the lawyer was 'cavere,' to take security, or to use all proper means to protect his client. 'In advocationibus' means in your undertaking to assist your clients. 'Advocatus' is not the orator who made the speech, but the man who gave his assistance in the management of a cause in some other way, as by his legal advice, for example.

*Natandi,*] It appears that Trebatius was a great swimmer. This passage explains the advice given with all legal formality by Trebatius, in the Satire of Horace (ii. 1, 7):

"Ter uncti
Transnanto Tiberim somno quibus est opus alto."

See Heindorf's note.

*Andabatam*] 'Andabata' in some MSS. This is a Greek word, and is said to signify gladiators who fought with helmets which had no apertures for the eyes, and consequently they fought in the dark. It appears that Trebatius was fond of such sights. He would not be cheated out of any show, even that of men fighting blindfolded, which would be a spectacle for vulgar amusement.

*Hominem*] Cicero and Caesar often use 'homo,' when they might have used a pronoun. There is no

facias me velim certiorem; et simul de toto statu tuo consiliisque omnibus. Scire enim cupio quid agas, quid exspectes, quam longum istum tuum discessum a nobis futurum putes. Sic enim tibi persuadeas velim, unum mihi esse solatium quare facilius possim pati te esse sine nobis, si tibi esse id emolumento sciam: sin autem id non est, nihil duobus nobis est stultius, me qui te non Romam attraham, te qui non huc advoles. Una mehercule nostra vel severa vel jocosa congressio pluris erit quam non modo hostes sed etiam fratres nostri Aedui. Quare omnibus de rebus fac ut quam primum sciam.

Aut consolando aut consilio aut re juvero.

## 41. CICERO TREBATIO S.

(VII. 19. A. U. C. 710).

Vide quanti apud me sis; etsi jure id quidem, non enim te amore vinco. Verumtamen quod praesenti tibi prope subnegaram, non tribueram certe, id absenti debere non potui. Itaque ut primum Velia navigare coepi, institui

notion of contempt implied, as this example shows, and many others. It seems rather used to mark the person emphatically, as we might say 'the man;' and accordingly it depends on the context, whether it is a respectful or disrespectful way of speaking of a man. (See Caesar, B. G. vi. 58.)

*Vel severa vel jocosa*] "Either serious or mirthful." One meeting of ours will be worth more, not to speak of enemies, than even our brethren the Aedui. That is, worth more than a meeting with the enemy, which to Trebatius at least would not be very pleasant; or even than a meeting with our dear, but very uncertain, friends the Aedui. The Aedui, a Gallic nation, had been honoured with the title of 'fratres' by the Roman senate. Caesar (Bell. Gall. i. 33): "Aeduos fratres consanguineosque saepe numero ab Senatu appellatos." They were wavering friends to Caesar in his Gallic war.

*Aut consolando*, &c.] A quotation from the Heautontimorumenos of Terence (i. 1, 34), who was a favourite author with Cicero.

41. This letter was written in July, B.C. 44, when Cicero fled from Rome, after the death of Caesar, with the intention of going to Greece. He went from Velia to Rhegium, and from Rhegium to Syracuse. He sailed from Syracuse, but was driven to Leucopetra, at the southern extremity of Italy, and from there he returned to Rome. (Philipp. i. 3.)

*Velia*] A town originally a settlement of the Phocaeans, on

Topica Aristotelea conscribere, ab ipsa urbe commonitus amantissima tui. Eum librum tibi misi Rhegio, scriptum quam planissime res illa scribi potuit. Sin tibi quaedam videbuntur obscuriora, cogitare debebis nullam artem literis sine interprete et sine aliqua exercitatione percipi posse. Non longe abieris. Num jus civile vestrum ex libris cognosci potest, qui quamquam plurimi sunt doctorem tamen nonnunquam desiderant? Quamquam tu si attente leges, si saepius, per te omnia consequere ut certe

the coast of Lucania, where Trebatius either had property, or perhaps occasionally resided. Horace (Ep. i. 15) inquires of his friend Vala, how the winter was at Velia, as he seems to have intended to visit the place.

*Topica*] The Topica of Cicero, a small work that is extant, is addressed to Trebatius, and Cicero at the beginning of this treatise (c. 1) tells us the occasion of his writing it. He and Trebatius were together in his library at his Tusculanum one day, turning over the books, when Trebatius fell upon the Topica of Aristotle, and he was curious to know what it was about. Cicero told him that it was a method of discovering arguments (disciplinam inveniendorum argumentorum), and recommended him to read it; but Trebatius could make nothing of the book. Cicero says (Topica, c. 1) that when he got to Velia, the place reminded him of Trebatius, and of his wish to know what this obscure book contained; and accordingly Cicero, though he had no books with him, wrote a short account of the contents of the Topica from memory, during the voyage from Velia to Rhegium. But the work contains something *of Cicero's own, and only* a part of what is in Aristotle.

*Cogitare debebis*] May be rendered "it will be your business, your duty to consider." The use of 'debeo' is one that a young student should master.

*Literis*] This means by means of letters, or from a book only. Cicero knew, as all antiquity knew, that oral instruction is better than a book. This useful truth is in danger of being forgotten.

*Non longe abieris*, &c.] You need not go far for an example of this. "Can your jus civile, your Roman law, be learned from books? for, though there are plenty of them, they sometimes require an expositor."

*Nonnunquam*] Is an emendation. This or some equivalent emendation is certainly required. See Orelli's note.

*Certe intelligas.*] Means "at least understand." Manutius compares a passage of the Andria of Terence, iv. 1, 17:

"Atque aliquis dicat, nihil promoveris.
Multum: molestus certe ei fuero atque animo morem gessero."

If you will work hard, says Cicero, you will understand it at least; but in order to be expert at finding

intelligas. Ut vero etiam ipsi tibi loci proposit stione occurrant, exercitatione consequere. In qua nos te continebimus, si et salvi redierimus et sa offenderimus. v. Kal. Sextil. Rhegio.

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# LIB. II.

## 1. TULLIUS ET CICERO TIRONI SUO S.

(xvi. 9. a. u. c. 704.)

Nos a te, ut scis, discessimus a. d. iv. Non. Nov Leucadem venimus a. d. viii. Idus Novembr.: a. Actium; ibi propter tempestatem a. d. vi. Idus sumus. Inde a. d. v. Idus Corcyram bellissime na mus. Corcyrae fuimus usque a. d. xvi. Kalend. De tempestatibus retenti. A. d. xv. Kalend. De in portum Corcyraeorum ad Cassiopen stadia cxx. simus. Ibi retenti ventis sumus usque a. d. ix. Ka Interea qui cupide profecti sunt, multi naufragia fe Nos eo die caenati solvimus. Inde austro lenissim

loci (topics, heads), you must get that by practice. As to the meaning of 'loci,' see De Sen. c. 9.

*In qua*, &c.] "To which exercise I will keep you, if I return safe and find all safe with you."

II. 1. This is partly a recapitulation of No. 13, &c., lib. i.

*Cassiopen*] A port in the north part of Corcyra, whence it appears that the passage was made to Hydrus, as the Greeks called it, the Roman Hydruntum, now Otranto. "*Ludibundi* pervenimus:" "we *arrived* after a pleasant voyage; it was more like play or amusement, or a pleasure excursion, real voyage." Cicero say nia ludibundus conficies" 3, c. 67); which in anoth (Verr. ii. 5, c. 70) he e "per ludum."

*Caenati*] 'After supper often uses this word in t The Romans have no acti ciple of the past tense, a sometimes use what we passive participle for it. S says in this letter 'cautus careful.' 'Potus,' 'pran used the same way.

sereno, nocte illa et die postero in Italiam ad Hydruntem ludibundi pervenimus: eodemque vento postridie, id erat a. d. VII. Kalend. Decembr., hora quarta Brundisium venimus; eodemque tempore simul nobiscum in oppidum introiit Terentia quae te facit plurimi. A. d. V. Kalend. Decembr. servus Cn. Plancii Brundisii tandem aliquando mihi a te exspectatissimas literas reddidit, datas Idibus Novembr., quae me molestia valde levarunt. Utinam omnino liberassent. Sed tamen Asclapo medicus plane confirmat propediem te valentem fore. Nunc quid ego te horter ut omnem diligentiam adhibeas ad convalescendum? Tuam prudentiam, temperantiam, amorem erga me novi: scio te omnia facturum ut nobiscum quam primum sis. Sed tamen ita velim ut ne quid properes. Symphoniam Lysonis vellem vitasses, ne in quartam hebdomada incideres. Sed quoniam pudori tuo maluisti obsequi quam valetudini, reliqua cura. Curio misi ut medico honos haberetur, et tibi daret quod opus esset: me cui

*Cn. Plancii*] On behalf of whom there is an extant oration of Cicero.

*Utinam*] 'Utinam' is 'ut,' or 'uti,' with 'nam' added to it, and the phrase is elliptical. Compare this use of 'ut' in Terence, Phormio, iv. 4, 6:

"Ut te quidem omnes di deae superi inferi
Malis exemplis perdant."

*Asclapo*] To whom he afterwards gave a letter of recommendation to Servius Sulpicius. No. 19, lib. i.

*Symphoniam*] It seems that Tiro had accepted some invitation of Lyso, perhaps to a musical party; and Cicero thought that it might defer his recovery. See Cic. Verr. ii. 3, c. 44.

*Hebdomada*] This is a Greek word, the accusative of ἑβδομάς, a period of seven. It is also used as a nominative. The number seven was one of the critical numbers, as Gellius says (iii. 10), who quotes Varro. Those days are considered most critical (κριτικοὺς or κρισίμους) in diseases, which are made up of the number seven, as a 'prima hebdomada et secunda et tertia.'

*Honos*] 'A fee:' hence the word 'honorarium,' which signified what was given to jurisconsulti, medici, and others who exercised the liberal professions. That which was given to such persons was not called 'merces,' or 'pay for services,' but 'honorarium,' to signify that it was a return made for a 'beneficium,' or act of kindness (Ulpian, Dig. 11, tit. 6, s. 1).

*Me cui jussisset curaturum.*] He

jussisset curaturum. Equum et mulum Brundisii tibi reliqui. Romae vereor ne ex Kal. Jan. magni tumultus sint. Nos agemus omnia modice. Reliquum est ut te hoc rogem et a te petam, ne temere naviges. Solent nautae festinare quaestus sui causa. Cautus sis, mi Tiro. Mare magnum et difficile tibi restat. Si poteris, cum Mescinio; caute is solet navigare. Si minus, cum honesto aliquo homine cujus auctoritate navicularius moveatur. In hoc omnem diligentiam si adhibueris teque nobis incolumem stiteris, omnia a te habebo. Etiam atque etiam, noster Tiro, vale. Medico, Curio, Lysoni de te scripsi diligentissime. Vale, salve.

## 2. TULLIUS ET CICERO, TERENTIA, TULLIA, Q. Q. TIRONI S. PLUR. DIC.

(XVI. 11. A. U. C. 705.)

Etsi opportunitatem operae tuae omnibus locis desidero, tamen non tam mea quam tua causa doleo te non

told Curius that he would repay the money which he advanced to any person whom he should name. This is an ordinary sense of 'curo' in Cicero, as "L. Cincio . . . pro signis Megaricis . . . curavi." Ad Att. i. 8; Pro P. Quintio, c. 4.

*Ex Kal. Jan.*] "Upon the coming of the first of January," when the new consuls would enter on their office, C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus, who wished to deprive Caesar of his command in Gaul. See the next letter.

*Nautae*] A 'nauta' is not only a sailor generally, but the master of a vessel. "Nautam accipere debemus eum qui navem exercet: *quamvis* nautae appellantur omnes *qui navis* navigandae causa in nave *sunt, sed* de exercitore solummodo praetor sentit," that is in the Edictum. (Ulpian, Dig. 4, tit. 9, s. 1.)

*Honesto aliquo*, &c.] Some person of consideration, for whose opinion the 'navicularius,' who is the same as the 'nauta,' will have some regard.—'Stiteris:' this is a legal expression. See De Sen. c. 7, note.

2. A joint letter from Cicero, his son, his wife, his daughter, and (Q. Q.) Quintus father, and Quintus son, to Tiro. A family epistle written by Cicero to Tiro.

*Omnibus locis*] This does not mean "in all places;" it means "in all things, on all occasions, I feel the want of your services." There is a use of it somewhat similar in De Am. c. 13, "multis locis."

valere. Sed quoniam in quartanam conversa vis est morbi, sic enim scribit Curius, spero te diligentia adhibita etiam firmiorem fore. Modo fac, id quod est humanitatis tuae, ne quid aliud cures hoc tempore nisi ut quam commodissime convalescas. Non ignoro quantum ex desiderio labores, sed erunt omnia facilia si valebis. Festinare te nolo, ne nauseae molestiam suscipias aeger et periculose hieme naviges. Ego ad Urbem accessi pridie Nonas Januar. Obviam mihi sic est proditum ut nihil possit fieri ornatius. Sed incidi in ipsam flammam civilis discordiae vel potius belli, cui quum cuperem mederi et, ut arbitror, possem, cupiditates certorum hominum, nam ex utraque parte sunt qui pugnare cupiant, impedimento mihi fuerunt. Omnino et ipse Caesar, amicus noster, minaces ad Senatum et acerbas literas miserat; et erat adhuc impudens qui exercitum et provinciam invito Senatu

*Quartanam*] The fever of Tiro had become a quartan, or recurred on the fourth day, instead of recurring at shorter intervals.

*Nausea*] "Sea sickness." It is a Greek word, ναυσία, or ναυτία, from ναῦς, a ship.

*Ad Urbem accessi*] He was outside the walls, expecting the honour of a triumph for his petty warfare in Cilicia. A general who claimed a triumph could not enter the city without forfeiting his claim, for the entry put an end to his military commission. The granting of a triumph by the Senate was a permission to enter the city in military procession. Hence the phrase "ad urbem accedere," "ad urbem esse," are applied, among other cases, to a general who was waiting outside the walls for a triumph. Here Cicero was with his lictors and the insignia of authority waiting for what he never got. When Cicero was in Cilicia he wrote a long letter to Cato (xv. 4), in which he tried by all the arts in his power to prevail on this stubborn but honest Roman to consider his claims to a triumph. Cato's letter, which is the next, is a sample of the man.

*Minaces—literas*] The story of the quarrel of Caesar and the Senate is told in the beginning of the Civil War of Caesar, lib. i. Caesar was now, January, B.C. 49, at Ravenna, in Cisalpine Gaul, the nearest town in his province to the frontier of Italy; for the name of Italy did not at this time properly comprehend Cisalpine Gaul.

*Adhuc*] This is 'ad hoc,' 'besides:' "impudens . . . qui teneret," "shameless in resolving to keep his army and his province against the will of the Senate." As to "impudens qui . . . teneret," see De Sen. c. 19: "O miserum qui non viderit," and De Am. c. 27.

teneret: et Curio meus illum incitabat. Antonius quidem noster et Q. Cassius nulla vi expulsi ad Caesarem cum Curione profecti erant. Posteaquam Senatus consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis plebis, et nobis qui procoss. sumus, negotium dederat ut curaremus, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet, numquam majore in periculo civitas fuit, numquam improbi cives habuerunt paratiorem ducem. Omnino ex hac quoque parte diligentissime comparatur. Id fit auctoritate et studio Pompeii nostri qui Caesarem sero coepit timere. Nobis inter has turbas Senatus tamen frequens flagitavit triumphum: sed Lentulus Consul, quo majus suum beneficium faceret, simul atque expedisset quae essent necessaria de re publica dixit se relaturum. Nos agimus nihil cupide, eoque est nostra pluris auctoritas. Italiae regiones discriptae sunt quam quisque partem tueretur. Nos Capuam sumpsimus. Haec te scire volui. Tu etiam atque etiam cura ut

*Curio meus*] See what Cicero says of him (lib. i. 37).

*Antonius*, &c.] M. Antonius and Q. Cassius Longinus, "tribuni plebis," fled to Caesar after the Senatus Consultum was passed, which Cicero mentions in the next sentence. (Bell. Civil. i. 5.)

*Proconsules*] Cicero was still proconsul: he still kept his title, for he was expecting a triumph, as above observed.

*Ne quid res publica*, &c.] The usual form of a Senatus Consultum, by which power was given to the magistrates to maintain the public safety. It was enacted on the 6th of January, B.C. 49, or "VIII. Id. Jan." as Caesar says. (Bell. Civil. i. 5.) Compare this passage of Cicero with the passage of Caesar just referred to.

*Simul atque expedisset*, &c.] "Lentulus said that he would bring the matter of my triumph forward as soon as he had settled the urgent matters of the state." The expression "quae essent necessaria" is the genuine Roman expression in these dependent clauses, particularly when 'sum' is used; the object is not to express any particular matter, but generally something of the kind indicated by the word 'necessaria.' 'De re publica' belongs to 'necessaria,' but I do not for that reason put a comma after it. The student must learn to exercise his understanding without the help of stops. 'Referre' is the word used to signify the bringing of a matter before the Senate.

*Discriptae*] Orelli has 'descriptae,' and yet there is a reading 'discriptae,' which is the true reading. See De Sen. c. 2.

valeas literasque ad me mittas quotiescumque habebis cui des. Etiam atque etiam vale. D. pridie Idus Jan.

## 3. M. CATO S. D. M. CICERONI IMP.

(XV. 5. A. U. C. 704.)

Quod et res publica me et nostra amicitia hortatur, libenter facio, ut tuam virtutem, innocentiam, diligentiam, cognitam in maximis rebus, domi togati, armati foris, pari industria administrari gaudeam. Itaque quod pro meo judicio facere potui, ut innocentia consilioque tuo defensam provinciam, servatum Ariobarzanis cum ipso rege regnum, sociorum revocatam ad studium imperii nostri voluntatem, sententia mea et decreto laudarem, feci. Supplicationem decretam, si tu qua in re nihil fortuito sed summa tua ratione et continentia rei publicae provisum est Diis immortalibus gratulari nos quam tibi referre acceptum mavis,

3. This letter of Cato is in answer to a letter of Cicero to Cato (Ad Div. XV. 4), referred to in the notes on the preceding letter.

*Togati,*] Is the genitive singular, which refers to the 'tui' implied in 'tuam,' as in "Probatio futura est tua qui locas:" Verr. ii. 1, c. 54. Cato refers to Cicero's services in his consulship, B.C. 63, when he crushed the conspiracy of Catilina. 'Toga,' the dress of the citizen: hence 'togatus,' in his civil capacity, not his military, which is expressed by 'armatus' (foris).

*Ariobarzanis*] The third of the name, king of Cappadocia, and an unfortunate debtor of Pompeius Magnus, and M. Junius Brutus. Cicero worked about a hundred talents out of him for the patriot and philosopher Brutus; and got his note at six months for two hundred to Pompeius (Cic. Ad Att. vi. 3): "Bruto curata hoc anno talenta circiter C.;" which contains an example of 'curo,' as used in No. 1, lib. ii. Cicero had saved this 'very poor king,' as he calls him, from a conspiracy.

*Supplicationem decretam,*] These words depend on 'gaudeo,' not on 'gratulari;' though one of the constructions of 'gratulor' is this: "Ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus." Cic. Phil. ii. 12. The accusative after 'gratulari' here is "qua in re . . . provisum est."

*Tibi referre acceptum*] Is a book-keeping phrase, which means "to enter a thing as received" by him who makes the entry; and of course to give some person credit for the payment. The phrase "acceptum ferre" was also used in the same sense. An entry in the books against a debtor was "expensum ferre," "to charge him with a sum of money." Hence a man's ac-

gaudeo. Quod si triumphi praerogativam putas supplicationem et idcirco casum potius quam te laudari mavis, neque supplicationem sequitur semper triumphus, et triumpho multo clarius est, Senatum judicare potius mansuetudine et innocentia imperatoris provinciam quam vi militum aut benignitate Deorum retentam atque conservatam esse: quod ego mea sententia censebam. Atque haec ego idcirco ad te contra consuetudinem meam pluribus scripsi ut, quod maxime volo, existimes me laborare ut tibi persuadeam me et voluisse de tua majestate quod amplis-

count books were called 'codices,' or "tabulae accepti et expensi." These terms frequently occur in the Roman law writers. Those who are curious to see how an exact knowledge of a great part of the Roman language is connected with a knowledge of the legal terminology of the Romans, which more than that of any other people passed current in the ordinary language, may consult such a book as Unterholzner, "Lehre des Röm. Rechts von den Schuldverhältnissen;" and Savigny, "Vermischt. Schrift. vol. i. Literalcontract der Römer." The passage in the text therefore means, "if you would rather that we should thank the immortal gods for your success, than set it down to your credit, I am glad of the supplicatio." There are several examples of this form of expression in Cicero (Verr. ii. 1, c. 36, 39; and 2, c. 70).

*Praerogativam*] "If you think that a supplicatio is the guarantee of a triumph, &c., I must tell you, 'neque supplicationem,'" &c. The tribus, or centuria, which voted first, was so called, says Asconius, "*quod primum rogaretur*," "was *first put to* the vote." The vote *of the first* tribe or centuria had a great effect on those which followed, and hence 'praerogativa' was used to signify an indication, or sure sign of the future, derived from something that was past and certain. Hence comes our English word 'prerogative,' which has a sense in no way like that of the original.

*Neque—et*] See De Am. c. 27.

*Pluribus*] If this was a long letter for Cato, what would a short one be? Plutarch, in his Life of this Cato, has drawn the man so that he cannot be confounded with any other.

*Majestas*] This word contains 'mag,' the root of 'magnus,' 'magis,' &c.; and it means 'magnitude.' The 'majestas' of the Roman state is its 'magnitude,' 'its fulness,' 'its completeness.' To impair this 'majestas' (imminuere) by misconduct, as that of a general in the field, was an offence against the state, an impairing of its 'majestas,' and an offence severely punished. Finally, under the empire 'majestas' signified a kind of treason, the thing impaired or damaged being used for the offence by which it was impaired or damaged. Here 'majestas' is applied to Cicero, and means the

simum sim arbitratus, et quod tu maluisti factum esse gaudere. Vale, et nos dilige, et instituto itinere severitatem diligentiamque sociis et rei publicae praesta.

## 4. M. CICERO S. D. M. CATONI.

(XV. 6. A. U. C. 704.)

Laetus sum laudari me,
inquit Hector, opinor apud Naevium,
abs te, pater, a laudato viro.

Ea est enim profecto jucunda laus quae ab iis proficiscitur qui ipsi in laude vixerunt. Ego vero vel gratulatione literarum tuarum, vel testimoniis sententiae dictae, nihil est quod me non assecutum putem. Idque mihi quum amplissimum, tum gratissimum est, te libenter amicitiae dedisse quod liquido veritati dares. Et si non modo omnes, verum etiam multi Catones essent in civitate nostra, in qua unum exstitisse mirabile est, quem ego currum aut quam lauream cum tua laudatione conferrem? Nam ad

fulness or completeness of his merit or dignity. Cato did not vote for the 'supplicatio,' or religious thanksgiving; he expressed his opinion that Cicero had discharged his duty well, and he thought that sufficient: however, as Cicero preferred a 'supplicatio,' such as Caesar had obtained for his Gallic victories, Cato says he was glad that he had got it.

4. A letter in reply to the preceding. The reader may judge whether Cicero was sincere in what he wrote; or whether his vanity was not offended by his rough friend's straightforward way of dealing.

*Hector,*] Cicero quoted part of the same passage in a letter to L. Lucceius (Ad Div. v. 12).

*Ego vero*] See No. 11, lib. i.

*Liquido*] 'Clearly,' as the following example shows: "tuis literis lectis liquidius de toto sensu tuo judicavi." Cic. Ad Div. x. 10.

*Non modo*] "And if, I will not say all, but even a large number were Catos in our state." I am not satisfied that this is the best translation, or rather, that it is a good translation; but I can suggest no other. Our language fails us here. It is plain that 'non modo' cannot be translated 'not only' here.

*Quem—currum,* &c.] The car of the triumphant general: the 'laurea,' the wreath of bay round his head. And these were the things that Cicero coveted.

*Ad meum sensum,* &c.] "For, according to my opinion, and to

meum sensum et ad illud sincerum ac subtile judicium nihil potest esse laudabilius quam ea tua oratio quae est ad me perscripta a meis necessariis. Sed causam meae voluntatis, non enim dicam cupiditatis, exposui tibi superioribus literis, quae etiamsi parum justa tibi visa est, hanc tamen habet rationem, non ut nimis concupiscendus honos, sed tamen si deferatur a Senatu minime aspernandus esse videatur. Spero autem illum ordinem pro meis ob rem publicam susceptis laboribus me non indignum honore, usitato praesertim, existimaturum. Quod si ita erit, tantum ex te peto, quod amicissime scribis, ut, quum tuo judicio quod amplissimum esse arbitraris mihi tribueris, si id quod maluero acciderit, gaudeas. Sic enim fecisse te et sensisse et scripsisse video; resque ipsa declarat tibi illum honorem nostrum supplicationis jucundum fuisse, quod scribendo adfuisti. Haec enim Senatus

express a sincere and exact judgment on the matter, nothing can be more to my praise than," &c. Manutius quotes another instance of the use of 'ille,' which explains this (Ad Div. viii. 9): "si ad illam summam veritatem legitimum jus exegeris."

*Perscripta a meis necessariis.*] See No. 24, lib. i.

*Parum justa*] "Not very reasonable," "not sufficient," and the like. This word 'justus' is a common stumbling-block. It is not the English 'just,' as in the phrase 'a just man,' for 'justus vir' in Latin properly means a 'perfect man,' or one as perfect as man may be, a complete man, a man pre-eminently; though it sometimes means one who practises 'justitia.' In English we have other senses of 'just,' which help us to understand the Latin: as 'just so,' which means 'exactly so.' See De Am. c. 20.

*Honos,*] The triumph. He had got the 'supplicatio,' but he was hankering after the triumph; to go in procession through Rome's crowded streets as a victorious general. After all, his petty victories were gained by his brother Quintus, who was his legatus in Cilicia.

*Ex te peto,*] Not so common as 'abs te peto,' as Süpfle observes.

*Quod scribendo adfuisti.*] "That you were present when the Senatus consultum was drawn up," by which a 'supplicatio' was decreed for the Cilician victories. It was usual for the friends of the person in whose favour any Senatus consultum was passed, to assist at the drawing up of it (scribendo adesse); and the names of those who were present were prefixed (praescriptae, for that is the true reading) to the Senatus consultum. There is a complete example of

consulta non ignoro ab amicissimis ejus cujus de honore agitur scribi solere. Ego, ut spero, te propediem videbo; atque utinam re publica meliore quam timeo.

## 5. TULLIUS S. D. TIRONI S.

(XVI. 12. A. U. C. 705.)

Quo in discrimine versetur salus mea et bonorum omnium atque universae rei publicae ex eo scire potes, quod domos nostras et patriam ipsam vel diripiendam vel inflammandam reliquimus. In eum locum res deducta est, ut, nisi qui Deus vel casus aliquis subvenerit, salvi esse nequeamus. Equidem ut veni ad Urbem, non destiti omnia et sentire et dicere et facere quae ad concordiam pertinerent; sed mirus invaserat furor non solum improbis, sed etiam iis qui boni habentur, ut pugnare cuperent, me clamante nihil esse bello civili miserius. Itaque quum Caesar amentia quadam raperetur, et oblitus nominis atque honorum suorum, Ariminum, Pisaurum, Anconam, Arretium occupavisset, Urbem reliquimus; quam sapienter aut quam fortiter, nihil attinet disputari. Quo quidem in casu simus vides. Feruntur omnino conditiones ab illo, ut Pompeius eat in Hispaniam, delectus qui sunt habiti et praesidia nostra dimittantur; se ulteriorem Galliam Domitio, citeriorem

this in a letter of Cicero's (Ad Div. viii. 8).

Cicero, notwithstanding this fine letter, was greatly displeased at Cato's conduct in the matter of the 'supplicatio,' and he expressed himself about it to his friend Atticus in no measured terms.

5. Cicero describes the events which had happened since Caesar crossed the Rubicon. He and others fled from Rome. His letter is ridiculous, as we know that Caesar did nothing of the kind that *Cicero affects to fear;* and never thought of doing such abominable things.

*Invaserat—improbis,*] 'Invadere' is sometimes used with a dative.

*Ulteriorem Galliam*] That is, Transalpine Gallia, north of the Alps, which consisted of the original Roman Provincia in the south, and the great extent of country which Caesar had reduced to obedience in his Gallic wars. The Gallia Citerior is the Cisalpine Gallia.

Considio Noniano, his enim obtigerunt, traditurum: ad consulatus petitionem se venturum: neque se jam velle absente se rationem haberi sui: se praesentem trinum nundinum petiturum. Accepimus conditiones; sed ita ut removeat praesidia ex his locis quae occupavit, ut sine metu de his ipsis conditionibus Romae Senatus haberi possit. Id ille si fecerit, spes est pacis non honestae, leges enim imponuntur, sed quidvis est melius quam sic esse ut sumus. Sin autem ille suis conditionibus stare noluerit, bellum paratum est; ejusmodi tamen quod sustinere ille non possit—praesertim quum a suis conditionibus ipse fugerit—tantummodo ut eum intercludamus ne ad Urbem

*Rationem haberi*, &c.] This is one of Cicero's common expressions. The following passage will help to explain it (Livy xxv. 2): "huic petenti aedilitatem quum obsisterent tribuni plebis negantes rationem ejus habendam esse quod nondum ad petendum legitima aetas esset." 'Habere rationem alicujus' is to have respect to a person in any matter, to give him his due, to take his claims or service into account. In this letter there is 'valetudinis tuae rationem haberet.' Caesar said that he did not choose now to have his claims to the consulship, that is, his candidateship put to the vote in his absence. He now insisted on coming to Rome, to be a candidate for the consulship. He would not consent that so important a matter should be done in his absence. Orelli has 'rationem haberi suam;' but it is a doubtful form of expression.

*Trinum nundinum*] 'Trinum nundinum,' or 'trinundinum,' comprehended three nundinae, or two Roman weeks, for the first and *third* nundinae were both included *in the* reckoning. The nundinae (*novendinae*) were the last day of the eight-day week; the name 'ninth' being derived from the fact that the last day of a preceding week, and the last of a current week, were both included in the reckoning. On the Roman use of the ordinal numbers in reckoning, see Savigny, System des Heut. Röm. Rechts, vol. iv. Beylage 11.

*Sin autem—Delectus enim*] This is very confused. Cicero has written in a hurry, and one might suppose that he was really too much frightened to write clearly. He says: "But if Caesar shall not choose to abide by his own terms, war is ready," or we are ready for war. I don't see what 'praesertim quum—fugerit' can refer to, if it does not refer to 'Sin autem—paratum est.' He adds, "such a war, however, as he will not be able to support," to which the words 'Delectus enim,' &c., seem to refer. The 'tantummodo ut—fieri posse' seems to be something thrown in as a parenthesis: "I only hope that we may stop him from coming near to the city; and we do hope that this is possible." This is the best explanation that I can give.

possit accedere; quod sperabamus fieri posse. Delectus enim magnos habebamus; putabamusque illum metuere si ad Urbem ire coepisset ne Gallias amitteret: quas ambas habet inimicissimas, praeter Transpadanos: ex Hispaniaque sex legiones et magna auxilia, Afranio et Petreio ducibus, habet a tergo. Videbitur, si insaniet, posse opprimi; modo ut Urbe salva. Maximam autem plagam accepit, quod is qui summam auctoritatem in illius exercitu habebat, T. Labienus, socius sceleris esse noluit; reliquit illum et nobiscum est: multique idem facturi esse dicuntur. Ego adhuc orae maritimae praesum a Formiis. Nullum majus negotium suscipere volui, quo plus apud illum meae literae cohortationesque ad pacem valerent. Sin autem erit bellum, video me castris et certis legionibus praefuturum. Habeo etiam illam molestiam quod Dolabella noster apud Caesarem est. Haec tibi nota esse volui: quae cave ne te perturbent et impediant valetudinem tuam. Ego A. Varroni, quem quum amantissimum mei cognovi tum etiam valde tui studiosum, diligentissime te commendavi, ut et valetudinis tuae rationem haberet et navigationis, et totum te susciperet ac tueretur: quem omnia facturum confido; recepit enim et mecum locutus est suavissime. Tu quoniam eo tempore mecum esse non

*Habebamus; putabamus*] Epistolary tenses, see No. 11, lib. i.

*Transpadanos:*] The people north of the Po were zealous partizans of Caesar, as we may infer from this. (Bell. Gall. viii. 51.)

*Modo ut Urbe*] One has seldom to complain of want of stops, and yet here where the common editions put a comma before 'modo,' there ought to be a larger stop, if any are used. The verb 'fiat' may be supplied. "I only hope it may be done before the city suffers."

*T. Labienus,*] One of Caesar's best legati in Gallia, who now left Caesar, and went over to the party of Pompeius, which did not get so much from his desertion as Cicero expected. Caesar treated the deserter with contempt. He sent the man's money and baggage after him.

*Apud illum*] He means Caesar, the rapidity of whose movements disconcerted his opponents.

*Recepit enim*] "For he promised." Cicero had asked him 'ut susciperet;' and 'recepit' is the acceptance or undertaking of what was asked or proposed.

potuisti, quo ego maxime operam et fidelitatem desideravi tuam, cave festines aut committas ut aut aeger aut hieme naviges. Numquam sero te venisse putabo, si salvus veneris. Adhuc neminem videram qui te postea vidisset quam M. Volusius, a quo tuas literas accepi: quod non mirabar. Neque enim meas puto ad te literas tanta hieme perferri. Sed da operam ut valeas; et si valebis, quum recte navigari poterit, tum naviges. Cicero meus in Formiano erat: Terentia et Tullia Romae. Cura ut valeas. IV. Kalendas Febr. Capua.

## 6. CICERO F. TIRONI SUO DULCISS. S.

(XVI. 21. A. U. C. 710.)

Quum vehementer tabellarios exspectarem quotidie, aliquando venerunt post diem XL. et VI. quam a vobis discesserant; quorum mihi fuit adventus optatissimus. Nam quum maximam cepissem laetitiam ex humanissimi et carissimi patris epistola, tum vero jucundissimae tuae literae cumulum mihi gaudii attulerunt. Itaque me jam non poenitebat intercapedinem scribendi fecisse, sed potius

*Videram*] An epistolary tense. We say, "I have not yet seen any one who has seen you since M. Volusius." The practice of Orelli and others in punctuation is opposed to all reason. He puts a comma after 'videram,' and even another after 'vidisset;' and then he expected, I suppose, people to understand it.

6. A letter from young Marcus Cicero, a student at Athens, to Tiro. Marcus was born B.C. 65, and was accordingly now twenty-one years of age. He had already distinguished himself in the command of a troop of horse on the side of Cn. Pompeius (Cic. De Off. ii. 13); and after his father's reconciliation with Caesar, he wished to serve under Caesar in Spain. But his father sent him to Athens. The letter is curious, as being from a young Roman who was prosecuting his studies abroad. Marcus had been somewhat irregular in his conduct, but he was sorry for it. He writes a better letter than most young men of his age could.

*Post diem — quam*] This is another of the irregular Roman expressions in things that relate to time. It means on the six and fortieth day after they left you. Tiro was somewhere in Italy. Six and forty days was a long time. The tabellarii must have been loitering, or have been stopped by the weather.

*Intercapedinem*] "An interval,"

laetabar; fructum enim magnum humanitatis tuae capiebam ex silentio mearum literarum. Vehementer igitur gaudeo te meam sine dubitatione accepisse excusationem. Gratos tibi optatosque esse qui de me rumores afferuntur non dubito, mi dulcissime Tiro: praestaboque et enitar ut in dies magis magisque haec nascens de me duplicetur opinio. Quare quod polliceris te buccinatorem fore existimationis meae, firmo id constantique animo facias licet. Tantum enim mihi dolorem cruciatumque attulerunt errata aetatis meae, ut non solum animus a factis sed aures quoque a commemoratione abhorreant. Cujus te sollicitudinis et doloris participem fuisse notum exploratumque est mihi; nec id mirum. Nam quum omnia mea causa velles mihi successa, tum etiam tua; socium enim te meorum commodorum semper esse volui. Quoniam igitur tum ex me doluisti, nunc ut duplicetur tuum ex me gaudium praestabo. Cratippo me scito non ut discipulum sed ut filium esse conjunctissimum. Nam [quum] audio illum libenter, tum etiam propriam ejus suavitatem vehementer amplector. Sum totos dies cum eo, noctisque saepenumero partem. Exoro enim ut mecum quam saepissime caenet. Hac introducta consuetudine, saepe inscientibus nobis et caenantibus obrepit, sublataque severitate

"a space between." The youth has his father's authority for the use of this word. Here he means to say that the way in which Tiro received his excuse for not writing was very gratifying, and he was almost glad that he had neglected writing, as it was the occasion of so pleasing a letter from Tiro.

*Buccinatorem*] "A trumpeter."

*Mihi successa,*] Manutius says for "successisse," and that 'successa' is hardly Latin. But why not? What would young Cicero write except Latin? To say that *this letter is not like his father's* letters is nothing to the purpose. One would not expect him to write like his father. 'Gratos . . . esse . . . non dubito' is another instance of deviation from common use, which requires 'quin' and the subjunctive.

*Tum etiam tua;*] The verb is here wanting, and 'voluisti' may be supplied.

*Cratippo*] Cicero speaks of him in the De Officiis (i. 1). He was a Peripatetic of Mitylene.

*Caenantibus obrepit,*] "He comes upon us at supper time without any notice." The philo-

philosophiae humanissime nobiscum jocatur. Quare da operam ut hunc talem, tam jucundum, tam excellentem virum videas quam primum. Nam quid ego de Bruttio dicam? quem nullo tempore a me patior discedere: cujus quum frugi severaque est vita, tum etiam jucundissima convictio. Non est enim sejunctus jocus a φιλολογίᾳ et quotidiana συζητήσει. Huic ego locum in proximo conduxi, et ut possum ex meis angustiis illius sustento tenuitatem. Praeterea declamitare Graece apud Cassium institui: Latine autem apud Bruttium exerceri volo. Utor familiaribus et quotidianis convictoribus, quos secum Mitylenis Cratippus adduxit, hominibus et doctis et illi probatissimis. Multum enim mecum est Epicrates, princeps Atheniensium, et Leonides, et horum ceteri similes. Τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡμᾶς τάδε.

De Gorgia autem quod mihi scribis, erat quidem ille in quotidiana declamatione utilis: sed omnia postposui dummodo praeceptis patris parerem. Διαῤῥήδην enim scripserat ut eum dimitterem statim. Tergiversari nolui, ne mea nimia σπουδὴ suspicionem ei aliquam importaret.

sopher no doubt found good cheer at young Cicero's, who has left behind him the name of being a jolly companion.

*Nam quid*] See De Am. c. 27, note.

*Bruttius*] Nothing more is known of him. He was a teacher of rhetoric, which is what Cicero seems to intend by 'philologia.' The names Bruttius and Cassius show, as Süpfle remarks, that there were Roman teachers at Athens. The young man's interlarding his letter with scraps of Greek is no more than a young Englishman might do with French, or some other modern language, if he were studying abroad; and he had his father's example for it, who has spoiled many of his letters to Atticus by this tasteless practice.

τάδε.] Mr. Macleane observes that he thinks a Greek would have said ταῦτα: and so he would, if he had written conformably to the usage of the best Greek writers.

Διαῤῥήδην] "Distinctly," "in positive terms." This Gorgias, a rhetorician, is accused of having led the young students at Athens into bad habits, which was a sufficient reason for the order of Cicero to his son. (Plutarch, Life of Cicero, c. 24.)

σπουδή] Young Cicero made no delay about dismissing Gorgias, that he might not show any unusual anxiety to keep him, and make Gorgias suspected; probably

Deinde illud etiam mihi succurrebat, grave esse me de judicio patris judicare. Tuum tamen studium et consilium gratum acceptumque est mihi. Excusationem angustiarum tui temporis accipio. Scio enim quam soleas esse occupatus. Emisse te praedium vehementer gaudeo; feliciterque tibi rem istam evenire cupio. Hoc loco me tibi gratulari noli mirari. Eodem enim fere loco tu quoque emisse te fecisti me certiorem. Habes. Deponendae tibi sunt urbanitates. Rusticus Romanus factus es. Quomodo ego mihi nunc ante oculos tuum jucundissimum conspectum propono! Videor enim videre ementem te rusticas res, cum villico loquentem, in lacinia servantem ex mensa secunda semina. Sed quod ad rem pertinet, me tum tibi defuisse aeque ac tu doleo. Sed noli dubitare, mi Tiro, quin te sublevaturus sim, si modo fortuna me: praesertim quum sciam communem nobis emptum esse istum fundum. De mandatis quod tibi curae fuit, est

of having too much influence over him.

*Hoc loco*] "In this part of my letter." Congratulations should come first in a letter, but as Tiro informed Cicero of the purchase in the latter part of his letter, Cicero deferred his congratulation to the close of his letter.

*Habes. Deponendae*, &c.] There are other readings; but this seems to be the best. It either means "you have got it: you must lay aside your city habits:" or it may be an application of the word 'habet,' which was said of a gladiator when he received a wound. See Terence, Andria i. 1, 56; Plautus, Most. iii. 2, 26; and Lipsius, Saturn. ii. c. 21, vol. iii. p. 574, ed. 1675. In the Andria, 'habet' means 'he is caught,' 'he is in love.'

In the Variorum ed. the reading is 'habes deponendae ubi sunt &c.;' and there is no difficulty in understanding this.

*Lacinia*] Manutius has a note on the various senses of 'lacinia,' which he seems to conclude rightly to signify here a napkin or cloth used at table. This imaginary picture of the town-bred, bookish freedman, making his country purchases, talking to his bailiff, and gathering the apple-pips in his napkin at the dessert, shows that young Cicero had some humour.

*Communem*] It seems that Tiro had bought it for himself and Marcus jointly, and with borrowed money, after his master's fashion; for Cicero says, 'te sublevaturus sim,' 'I will help you with money.' 'Fundus' is the name for a whole piece of land, an estate, as we say (De Sen. c. 16); and 'fundi' had generally names, as 'Sempronianus,' and so forth.

*Mandatis*] See No. 26, lib. i.

Q

mihi gratum. Sed peto a te ut quam celerrime mihi librarius mittatur, maxime quidem Graecus; multum mihi enim eripitur operae in exscribendis hypomnematis. Tu velim in primis cures ut valeas, ut una συμφιλολογεῖν possimus. Anterum tibi commendo. Vale.

## 7. CAESAR IMP. S. D. CICERONI IMP.

### (AD ATTICUM, IX. 6. A. U. C. 705.)

Quum Furnium nostrum tantum vidissem, neque loqui neque audire meo commodo potuissem, properarem atque essem in itinere praemissis jam legionibus, praeterire tamen non potui quin et scriberem ad te et illum mitterem gratiasque agerem; etsi hoc et feci saepe et saepius mihi facturus videor; ita de me mereris. In primis a te peto, quoniam confido me celeriter ad urbem venturum, ut te ibi videam, ut tuo consilio, gratia, dignitate, ope omnium rerum uti possim. Ad propositum revertar:

*Librarius*] "A copying or writing clerk," to save the youth the labour of writing out his 'hypomnemata,' 'memoranda,' or notes probably of the lectures that he heard.

*Operae*] 'Opera' is often joined with 'labor.' But here it seems to mean 'time,' as Graevius says, and cites Plautus, Truc. iv. 4, 30:

"Numquid vis? Di. Fac valeas: opera ubi mihi erit, ad te venero."

7. This letter is contained in a letter of Cicero to Atticus, which he wrote after receiving intelligence that Cn. Pompeius had crossed the sea from Brundusium with all his force. Caesar appears to have written this letter on his march to Brundusium, which he reached on the 9th of March. "What he asks of me," says Cicero to Atticus, "in few words indeed, but in the tone of a man who can command, learn from his letter." It is an example of a hasty letter written by a man who had weighty matters on hand. It is of no value, except that it is Caesar's.

*Furnium*] A tribunus plebis, B.C. 50, and a friend of Cicero. Caesar, who wished Cicero to be near Rome (ad urbem) when he should arrive there, sent Furnius with this letter.

*Meo commodo*] 'Conveniently,' 'consistently with my convenience,' a common form of expression in Cicero. Cicero also says "quum erit tuum commodum." Ad Att. xii. 28. 'Meo commodo' is the ablative. 'Incommodo,' 'injuria,' and other words are used the same way. 'Commodo' may be a dative in some places, but not here.

*Omnium rerum*] Is equivalent to "in omnibus rebus."

*Ad propositum revertar:*] Orell

festinationi meae brevitatique literarum ignosces. Reliqua ex Furnio cognosces.

## 8. CAESAR OPPIO CORNELIO S.

(AD ATTICUM, IX. 7. A. U. C. 705.)

Gaudeo mehercule vos significare literis quam valde probetis ea quae apud Corfinium sunt gesta. Consilio vestro utar libenter, et hoc libentius quod mea sponte facere constitueram ut quam lenissimum me praeberem, et Pompeium darem operam ut reconciliarem. Tentemus hoc modo si possumus omnium voluntates recuperare et diuturna victoria uti, quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt neque victoriam diutius tenere, praeter unum L. Sullam quem imitaturus non sum. Haec nova sit ratio vincendi ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. Id quemadmodum fieri possit nonnulla mihi in mentem veniunt et multa reperiri possunt. De his rebus rogo vos ut cogitationem suscipiatis.

N. Magium Pompeii praefectum deprehendi. Scilicet

says "an *praevertar?*" which it would be rather more difficult to explain. Caesar says, "I will return to what I began with. I am in a great hurry, and you will excuse me." The Abbé Mongault in his French version of the letters to Atticus renders it correctly.

8. This letter is preserved in a letter of Cicero to Atticus. Cicero says, "I have sent to you copies (exempla) of the letters of Balbus and Oppius to me, and also a copy of Caesar's letter to them." Balbus is C. Cornelius Balbus, mentioned above (No. 39, lib. i.). Oppius is C. Oppius, a friend of Caesar, who employed him and Balbus very much in his private affairs. A. Gellius says (*xvii. 9*) that in his time there was a collection (libri epistolarum) of Caesar's letters to Oppius and Balbus, some parts of which were written in cipher.

*Corfinium*] Caesar took Corfinium in Picenum on his march from the Rubicon to Brundusium in pursuit of Pompeius; and he set at liberty L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and other men of rank whom he captured there.

*L. Sullam*] L. Cornelius Sulla, who was made dictator B.C. 81, after the complete overthrow of the faction of Marius. He used his power with cruelty, and shed blood without remorse. Plutarch has written the life of Sulla.

*Magium*] The capture of Numerius Magius is mentioned by Caesar (Bell. Civ. i. 24). Caesar sent him to Pompeius, who was

meo instituto usus sum et eum statim missum feci. Jam duo praefecti fabrûm Pompeii in meam potestatem venerunt et a me missi sunt. Si volent grati esse, debebunt Pompeium hortari ut malit mihi esse amicus quam iis qui et illi et mihi semper fuerunt inimicissimi; quorum artificiis effectum est ut res publicà in hunc statum perveniret.

## 9. CICERO IMP. S. D. CAESARI IMP.

(AD ATTICUM, IX. 11. A. U. C. 705.)

Ut legi tuas literas quas a Furnio nostro acceperam quibus mecum agebas ut ad urbem essem, te velle uti consilio et dignitate mea, minus sum admiratus; de gratia et de ope quid significares mecum ipse quaerebam: spe tamen deducebar ad eam cogitationem ut te pro tua admirabili ac singulari sapientia de otio, de pace, de concordia civium agi velle arbitrarer; et ad eam rationem existimabam satis aptam esse et naturam et personam meam. Quod si ita est, et si qua de Pompeio nostro tuendo et tibi ac rei publicae reconciliando cura te attingit, magis idoneum quam ego sum ad eam causam profecto reperies neminem; qui et illi semper et senatui quum primum potui pacis auctor fui, nec sumptis armis belli ullam partem attigi; judicavique eo bello te violari contra cujus honorem populi Romani beneficio concessum inimici atque invidi nite-

then in Brundusium, with proposals for peace.

9. This is an answer to the letter which Cicero received from Caesar by Furnius. It is preserved in a letter to Atticus, in which he says, "Misi ad te exemplum literarum mearum ad Caesarem, quibus me *aliquid* profecturum puto."

*Spe — deducebar*] His hopes or his wishes led him to think that Caesar wished for peace.

*Personam*] See De Am. c. l.

*Contra cujus — niterentur.*] "That by the war you had violence done to you, since your enemies and ill wishers were fighting against a privilege conferred by the favour of the Roman people.' The honour was 'ut absentis ratio haberetur' (Ad Att. viii. 3).

rentur. Sed ut eo tempore non modo ipse fautor dignitatis tuae fui verum etiam ceteris auctor ad te adjuvandum, sic me nunc Pompeii dignitas vehementer movet. Aliquot enim sunt anni quum vos duo delegi quos praecipue colerem et quibus essem sicut sum amicissimus. Quamobrem a te peto vel potius omnibus precibus te oro et obtestor ut in tuis maximis curis aliquid impertias temporis huic quoque cogitationi, ut tuo beneficio bonus vir, gratus, pius denique esse in maximi beneficii memoria possim. Quae si tantum ad me ipsum pertinerent, sperarem me a te tamen impetraturum; sed, ut arbitror, et ad tuam fidem et ad rem publicam pertinet me e paucis et ad utriusque vestrum et ad civium concordiam per te quam accommodatissimum conservari. Ego quum antea tibi de Lentulo gratias egissem, quum ei saluti qui mihi fuerat fuisses, tamen lectis ejus literis, quas ad me gratissimo animo de tua liberalitate beneficioque misit, eandem me salutem a te accepisse putavi quam ille; in quem si me intelligis esse gratum, cura, obsecro, ut etiam in Pompeium esse possim.

*Aliquot enim sunt anni quum*] "It is now some years since," &c. as we say. 'Quum' is sometimes thus used to express a period of time past up to the present time. The French have the same expression with 'que;' for the text might be translated "il y a quelques années *que* je me suis attaché à vous deux." There is an example of 'quum' in this sense in Cicero, De Divin. ii. 36; Caesar, B. G. i. 23; Virgil, Aen. iii. 645, "Tertia jam lunae," &c.

*In maximi beneficii memoria*] Cicero in this suppliant letter wishes to keep on good terms with Caesar, but yet not to act so towards Pompeius as to incur the charge of ingratitude to him. He wishes to be excused coming to Rome, where measures might be taken against Pompeius, to which he could not be a party consistently with gratitude to him.

*Lentulo*] P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther was made prisoner in Corfinium by Caesar (Bell. Civ. i. 23) and released. This Lentulus in his consulship took the lead in the recal of Cicero from exile, in which he was supported by Cn. Pompeius.

## 10. CICERO ATTICO S.

(AD ATTICUM, IX. 16. A. U. C. 705.)

Quum quod scriberem ad te nihil haberem, tamen ne quem diem intermitterem has dedi literas. A. D. VI. Kal. Caesarem Sinuessae mansurum nuntiabant. Ab eo mihi literae redditae sunt A. D. VII. Kalend. quibus jam opes meas non ut superioribus literis opem exspectat. Quum ejus clementiam Corfiniensem illam per literas collaudavissem, rescripsit hoc exemplo.

## CAESAR IMP. CICERONI IMP. S. D.

Recte auguraris de me, bene enim tibi cognitus sum, nihil a me abesse longius crudelitate. Atque ego quum ex ipsa re magnam capio voluptatem, tum meum factum probari abs te triumpho gaudio. Neque illud me movet quod ii qui a me dimissi sunt discessisse dicuntur ut mihi rursus bellum inferrent; nihil enim malo quam et me mei similem esse et illos sui. Tu velim mihi ad urbem praesto sis ut tuis consiliis atque opibus ut consuevi in omnibus rebus utar. Dolabella tuo nihil scito mihi esse

10. A letter to Atticus, in which he sends a copy of Caesar's letter to him. Pompeius having left Brundusium and sailed to the coast of Epirus, Caesar was now returning to Rome, as Cicero was informed, by way of Beneventum, Capua, and Sinuessa, at the close of the month of March.

*Opes—opem*] It does not seem likely that Caesar meant any thing by using the plural word instead of the singular, nor that Cicero seriously supposed that he did. But Cicero was fond of amusing *himself* with words.

*Ex ipsa re*] He means from *his clemency* to the prisoners at Corfinium.

*Triumpho gaudio.*] This is probably the true reading, and not "triumpho et gaudeo," nor "triumpho, gaudeo." Cicero elsewhere uses the expression "exultare laetitia et triumphare gaudio."

*Mei similem*] Orelli, who has 'meis similem,' gives no notice of any various reading. The Variorum edition has 'mei.' Orelli's 'meis' is apparently a misprint. As to 'similis' with a genitive, see De Am. c. 22.

*Dolabella*] Cicero's son-in-law, who had joined Caesar with the hope, it is said, of mending his fortune, for he was deeply in debt

jucundius. Hanc adeo habebo gratiam illi; neque enim aliter facere poterit, tanta ejus humanitas, is sensus, ea in me est benevolentia.

## 11. SERVIUS CICERONI, S. P.

(IV. 12. A. U. C. 709.)

Etsi scio non jucundissimum me nuntium vobis allaturum, tamen, quoniam casus et natura in nobis dominatur, visum est faciendum quoquo modo res se haberet vos certiores facere. A. d. x. Kal. Jun. quum ab Epidauro Piraeeum navi advectus essem, ibi Marcellum collegam nostrum conveni, eumque diem ibi consumpsi ut cum eo essem. Postero die quum ab eo digressus essem eo consilio ut ab Athenis in Boeotiam irem reliquamque jurisdictionem absolverem, ille, ut aiebat, supra Maleam [in] Italiam

*Hanc adeo*] "This obligation further (adeo) I shall owe to him, for it will not be possible for him to do otherwise than urge you to come to Rome." But Cicero did not go, though Caesar had an interview with him and pressed him to go with him to Rome (Ad Att. ix. 18).

11. *Casus et natura*] "Since fortune and nature over us human beings have full dominion." The reading 'in bonis' is properly rejected. Sulpicius means to say that we are under the dominion of chance and accident, as well as under the established law of nature, by which all men must die.

*Faciendum—facere.*] A deviation from Cicero's usage, as it is remarked, for Cicero would say 'faciendum . . . ut . . . facerem.'

*Collegam*] M. Claudius Marcellus was the colleague of Sulpicius in the consulship, B.C. 51. He was one of Caesar's enemies and an exile, but had been pardoned, and was on his way to Rome.

*Ut ab Athenis*] The province of Sulpicius was Achaea (Ad Div. xiii. 26). He had just come from Epidaurus in the Peloponnesus, and was going into Boeotia to finish his circuit, which he expresses by the words "reliquam jurisdictionem absolverem." The Roman governors made circuits in their provinces (conventus agebant) for the purpose of administering justice at fixed places, and transacting other matters which were done at the courts which they held. See Caesar (Bell. Gall. i. 54; vii. 1); Pliny (Hist. Nat. iii. 1, 3); on the 'conventus' of Spain.

*Supra Maleam*] Malea, the south-eastern extremity of the Peloponnesus. Marcellus intended to make the voyage to Italy round the Peloponnesus. Cicero, as we have seen, took the route through Patrae on his return from his province.

versus navigaturus erat. Post diem tertium ejus diei, quum ab Athenis proficisci in animo haberem, circiter hora decima noctis P. Postumius, familiaris ejus, ad me venit, et mihi nuntiavit M. Marcellum, collegam nostrum, post caenae tempus a P. Magio Cilone, familiare ejus, pugione percussum esse et duo vulnera accepisse, unum in stomacho, alterum in capite secundum aurem; sperare tamen eum vivere posse: Magium se ipsum interfecisse: postea se a Marcello ad me missum esse qui haec nuntiaret et rogaret uti medicos [cogerem]. Coegi, et e vestigio eo sum profectus prima luce. Quum non longe a Piraeeo abessem, puer Acidini obviam mihi venit cum codicillis, in quibus erat scriptum paullo ante lucem Mar-

*Post diem tertium*, &c.] There is a reading "postridie ejus diei," 'the day after that day.' The reading in the text means on the third day after that day, that is a day being interposed, for the first and third are included in the reckoning. This expression occurs in Cicero (Ad Att. iii. 7) and in Livy, xxvii. 35.

*Circiter hora decima*] There is a reading "horam decimam." The accusative with 'circiter' is the common usage. Caesar (B. G. v. 47) has "hora circiter decima." 'Circiter' is sometimes used adverbially, as in Caesar (B. G. iv. 37): "ad clamorem hominum circiter milia VI. convenerunt."

The Roman day of the Calendar began at midnight, and we have taken from the Romans this way of reckoning. The whole period from midnight to midnight was Dies Civilis. The day had two natural divisions, 'lux' or 'dies naturalis,' and 'nox.' The letter of Servius shows that the tenth hour of the night was a little before daybreak in the month of May. The daylight and the darkness were each divided by the Romans into twelve hours, and the length of each hour would of course vary with the season.

*Secundum aurem;*] 'Secundum' is 'sequundum,' 'following,' 'next to,' in this case 'behind.' See Key's Grammar, 1371.

*Uti medicos*] Some MSS. have 'uti medicos cogerem,' but it is very probable that Sulpicius omitted the word 'cogerem,' which is the less necessary, because the next sentence begins with 'coegi.' 'E vestigio' means 'upon the track,' 'immediately;' as in cases where time is mentioned, 'ex Kalendis.' 'E vestigio' occurs in Cicero (Div. 17). Caesar (B. G. vii. 25) has 'in illo vestigio temporis.'

*Codicilli*] A diminutive of 'codex,' means a writing tablet, or some material on which a letter was written. It appears to be used in the plural number, except in the Codex Theodosianus. The way in which the term 'codicilli' came to be applied to a codicil or testamentary disposition is ex-

cellum diem suum obisse. Ita vir clarissimus ab homine deterrimo acerbissima morte est affectus, et cui inimici propter dignitatem pepercerant, inventus est amicus qui ei mortem offerret. Ego tamen ad tabernaculum ejus perrexi. Inveni duos libertos et pauculos servos. Reliquos aiebant profugisse metu perterritos, quod dominus eorum ante tabernaculum interfectus esset. Coactus sum in eadem illa lectica qua ipse delatus eram meisque lecticariis in urbem eum referre: ibique pro ea copia quae Athenis erat funus ei satis amplum faciendum curavi. Ab Atheniensibus locum sepulturae intra urbem ut darent impetrare non potui, quod religione se impediri dicerent; neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant. Quod proximum fuit, uti in quo vellemus gymnasio eum sepeliremus nobis permiserunt. Nos in nobilissimo orbis terrarum gymnasio Academiae locum delegimus ibique eum combussimus; posteaque curavimus ut iidem Athenienses in eodem loco monumentum ei marmoreum facien-

plained in the Institutiones of Justinian (ii. tit. 25).

*Inimici—pepercerant,*] Caesar had allowed Marcellus, who had been his enemy, to return to Rome, and he was now on his way to Italy.

*Perterritos,*] "In such a case," says Tacitus (Ann. xiv. 42), "it was an old custom for all the slaves who had been under the same roof to be led to punishment." This cruel custom was confirmed by a Senatus consultum, in the time of Augustus; and there was another Senatus consultum (Neronianum) in the time of Nero, A.D. 57.

*Lectica*] A kind of palanquin, in which a person was carried in a reclining position, a kind of luxury suitable for a warm climate and lazy people. The kings of Bithynia *used it, as Cicero says* (Verr. ii. 5, c. 11). Such a man as Servius might use it, partly because his health does not seem to have been very strong, and partly perhaps for the convenience of reading.

*Pro ea copia*] Such as the means of Athens then allowed. Comp. 'pro viribus,' De Sen. c. 9, and 'pro tua . . . prudentia,' Lib. ii. No. 19.

*Atheniensibus*] The Athenians did not allow the ashes of the dead to rest within the city, nor could the governor obtain permission from them to inter Marcellus there. This shows that the Romans did not interfere with the peculiar customs of some places within their dominions.

*Gymnasium*] Marcellus was buried in the Academia, where Plato had taught.

dum locarent. Ita quae nostra officia fuerunt pro collegio et pro propinquitate et vivo et mortuo omnia ei praestitimus. Vale. D. pr. Kal. Jun. Athenis.

## 12. SERVIUS CICERONI, S.

(IV. 5. A. U. C. 709.)

Posteaquam mihi renuntiatum est de obitu Tulliae, filiae tuae, sane quam pro eo ac debui graviter molesteque tuli, communemque eam calamitatem existimavi; qui si istic adfuissem, neque tibi defuissem coramque meum dolorem tibi declarassem. Etsi genus hoc consolationis miserum atque acerbum est: propterea quia per quos ea

*Locarent.*] They were to make a contract with some person for the construction of a monument; and they were to pay the money. This is 'faciendum locare.' This contract was called 'locatio' with respect to him who paid the money, and 'conductio' with respect to him who undertook to do the thing for a sum of money. The whole was 'locatio et conductio.' This is one of the meanings of 'locare.'

*Pro collegio*] Marcellus and Sulpicius having been consuls together were 'collegae,' and this relationship is expressed by 'collegium.'

12. A letter from Servius Sulpicius to Cicero on the death of his daughter, who was divorced from her third husband, P. Cornelius Dolabella, some time in B.C. 46. Early in B.C. 45 she gave birth to a son, and she died shortly after at her father's Tusculanum in February. Cicero himself was at this time divorced from Terentia, and had married Publilia, but the *match* was not a happy one, and *he lost in* his daughter the only *domestic* comfort that he had.

*Sane quam*] These words have no necessary connexion with "pro eo ac debui," 'as my duty was' (see ii. Ep. 11, "pro ea copia"), for the sentence will be complete if they are omitted. Cicero says, "pro eo ut temporis difficultas aratorumque penuria tulit" (Verr. ii. 3, c. 54). Caesar says (B. G. vi. 19) "Funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum." Caelius says in a letter to Cicero (viii. 10) "sane quam literis C. Cassii et Deiotari sumus commoti," "we were disturbed by the letters, mightily how," that is 'disturbed.' Compare the uses of "mirum quam" and "quantum," "wonderful how much," like the Greek θαυμαστὸν ὅσον.

*Etsi—tamen*] 'Etsi' and 'tamen' are correlatives. See Ad Q. Fr. c. 1. All that stands between 'acerbum est' and 'tamen quae' is parenthetical.

*Miserum,* &c.] 'Wretched and painful,' for the reason which he gives.

*Propterea quia*] There is a reading "propterea quod," which is the common form of expression in some writers, as in Caesar.

confieri debet, propinquos ac familiares, ipsi pari molestia afficiuntur neque sine lacrimis multis id conari possunt, uti magis ipsi videantur aliorum consolatione indigere quam aliis posse suum officium praestare: tamen quae in praesentia in mentem mihi venerunt, decrevi brevi ad te perscribere; non quo ea te fugere existimem, sed quod forsitan dolore impeditus minus ea perspicias. Quid est quod tanto opere te commoveat tuus dolor intestinus? Cogita quemadmodum adhuc fortuna nobiscum egerit, ea nobis erepta esse quae hominibus non minus quam liberi cara esse debent, patriam, honestatem, dignitatem, honores omnes. Hoc uno incommodo addito quid ad dolorem adjungi potuit? aut qui non in illis rebus exercitatus animus callere jam debet atque omnia minoris aestimare? An illius vicem, credo, doles? Quoties in eam cogitationem necesse est et tu veneris, et nos saepe incidimus, hisce temporibus non pessime cum iis esse actum quibus sine dolore licitum est mortem cum vita commutare? Quid autem fuit quod illam hoc tempore ad vivendum

'Propterea' came to be used as a single word, and the grammatical propriety of the 'ea' was neglected. See De Am. c. 8, note.—"Ii ipsi pari:" Orelli.

*Propinqui*] This word, the opposite of 'longinqui,' contains the element 'prop' (prope), of which 'proximi' the superlative (propsimi) is often used to signify blood relations, though it has a larger signification generally.

*Ea nobis erepta esse*] Caesar was now at the height of his power. He was consul for the fourth time without a colleague, and was gone to finish the war in Spain against the sons of Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

*Callere*] 'To be hardened.' '*Callum*' *is a hardening* of the skin from use. "Mihi . . . calceamentum solorum callum" (Cic. Tusc. Quaest. v. 32); "my only shoe is the callum of my feet."—'Existimare:' Orelli.

*Tu veneris*, &c.] 'Veneris' depends on 'necesse est.' 'Incidimus' does not; it is a distinct affirmation. On 'incidimus' Orelli remarks: "it is a slight ἀνακόλουθον, and it is Sulpicius that we are engaged with, not Cicero, which the critics have too often forgotten;" as if this most accomplished Roman could not write Latin.

*Mortem cum vita commutare?*] Manutius observes that this form of expression is not used by Cicero, so far as he knows. The common construction of 'muto' is the accusative and ablative without 'cum.'

magno opere invitare posset? quae res? quae spes? quod animi solatium? Ut cum aliquo adolescente primario conjuncta aetatem gereret? Licitum est tibi, credo, pro tua dignitate ex hac juventute generum deligere cujus fidei liberos tuos te tuto committere putares. An ut ea liberos ex sese pareret, quos quum florentes videret laetaretur? qui rem a parente traditam per se tenere possent? honores ordinatim petituri essent? in re publica, in amicorum negotiis libertate sua uterentur? Quid horum fuit quod non prius quam datum est ademptum sit? At vero malum est liberos amittere. Malum, nisi hoc pejus sit haec sufferre et perpeti.

Quae res mihi non mediocrem consolationem attulit, volo tibi commemorare, si forte eadem res tibi dolorem minuere possit. Ex Asia rediens quum ab Aegina Megaram versus navigarem, coepi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat Aegina, ante Megara, dextra Piraeeus, sinistra Corinthus, quae oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos jacent. Coepi egomet mecum sic cogitare: Hem! nos homunculi indignamur si quis nostrum interiit aut occisus

*Liberos tuos*] Used here for one child, his daughter. But the word 'liberi' is not limited to children: it comprehends all a man's direct descendants.

*Rem a parente*] There is nothing so difficult to translate as such an expression as this, on account of its generality. There is no epithet 'publicam' or 'privatam' attached to it. It seems to mean "to maintain by their own efforts all that their father transmitted to them," both 'res publica' and 'res privata.'

*Honores ordinatim*, &c.] Become candidates for the 'honores' in the order in which a man must proceed from the lowest, a quaestorship, to the highest, the censorship.

*Uterentur?*] 'Uti:' Orelli. If 'uti' is the true reading, we must supply 'possent.'

*Volo tibi commemorare,*] 'I will tell you,' where 'will' expresses the notion of 'volo' nearer than any other word, though with less emphasis, because our 'will' has lost much of its primary sense, and is now used as one of the signs of futurity.

*Megaram*] This is a Roman form. The Greek form is Megara, in the plural number.

est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, quum uno loco tot oppidûm cadavera projecta jacent? Visne tu te, Servi, cohibere et meminisse hominem te esse natum? Crede mihi, cogitatione ea non mediocriter sum confirmatus. Hoc idem, si tibi videtur, fac ante oculos tibi proponas. Modo uno tempore tot viri clarissimi interierunt: de imperio Populi Romani tanta deminutio facta est: omnes provinciae conquassatae sunt: in unius mulierculae animula si jactura facta est, tanto opere commoveris? quae si hoc tempore non diem suum obisset, paucis post annis tamen ei moriendum fuit, quoniam homo nata fuerat. Etiam tu ab hisce rebus animum ac cogitationem tuam avoca, atque ea potius reminiscere quae digna tua persona sunt: illam quamdiu ei opus fuerit vixisse; una cum re publica fuisse; te patrem suum, praetorem, consulem, augurem vidisse; adolescentibus primariis nuptam fuisse; omnibus bonis prope perfunctam esse; quum res publica occideret, vita excessisse. Quid est quod tu aut illa cum fortuna hoc nomine queri possitis? Denique noli te oblivisci Ciceronem esse, et eum qui aliis consueris praecipere et dare consilium; neque imitare malos medicos, qui in alienis morbis profitentur tenere se medicinae scientiam, ipsi se curare non possunt; sed potius quae aliis tute

*Visne tu te,*] Our idiom would use the negative, "Will you not check yourself?" So in Terence (Phormio i. 1, 15) 'sed videon' Getam?' 'Don't I see Geta?'

*Deminutio*] There is a dispute whether the true form is 'deminutio' or 'diminutio,' a word which occurs also in the expression "capitis diminutio." A 'deminutio' is a diminishing or impairing of the state or condition of a thing. Caesar (B. G. vii. 33) says, "ne quid de jure aut de legibus eorum deminuisse videretur." See the note, lib. ii. No. 3, on Majestas.

*Homo nata fuerat.*] 'A human being.' 'Homo' has this general signification, as ἄνθρωπος in Greek, and 'Mensch' in German.

*Primariis*] Tullia's first husband, C. Calpurnius Piso, was of plebeian but noble family; her second husband was Furius Crassipes, a patrician; and the third, Dolabella, was also a patrician.

*Hoc nomine*] 'On this account,' which I suppose is an English book-keeping phrase, as 'hoc nomine' is among the Romans.

praecipere soles, ea tute tibi subjice atque apud animum propone. Nullus dolór est quem non longinquitas temporis minuat ac molliat. Hoc te exspectare tempus tibi turpe est ac non ei rei sapientia tua te occurrere. Quod si qui etiam inferis sensus est, qui illius in te amor fuit pietasque in omnes suos, hoc certe illa te facere non vult. Da hoc illi mortuae; da ceteris amicis ac familiaribus qui tuo dolore maerent; da patriae, ut si qua in re opus sit opera et consilio tuo uti possit. Denique quoniam in eam fortunam devenimus ut etiam huic rei nobis serviendum sit, noli committere ut quisquam te putet non tam filiam quam rei publicae tempora et aliorum victoriam lugere. Plura me ad te de hac re scribere pudet, ne videar prudentiae tuae diffidere. Quare, si hoc unum proposuero, finem faciam scribendi. Vidimus aliquoties secundam pulcherrime te ferre fortunam, magnamque ex ea re te laudem apisci; fac aliquando intelligamus adversam quoque te aeque ferre posse, neque id majus quam debeat tibi onus videri, ne ex omnibus virtutibus haec una tibi videatur deesse. Quod ad me attinet, quum te tranquil-

*Pietas*] Cicero (Or. Part. 22) has a definition of 'pietas' which will help on the present occasion: "Justitia erga deos religio, erga parentes pietas nominatur." "The discharge of our duty (justitia) towards the gods is religion, towards parents it is called pietas." But the word has often a much wider application, as in the present passage. Its general notion is the discharge of duty; what duty is in each case, depends partly on the universal notion of virtue, partly on the peculiar notions of each age and country. The definition of 'pietas' depends on the notion of *'justitia,'* which I have correctly *translated* 'the discharge of duty,' *for that* was the Roman notion of 'justitia,' and the definition is adopted in the Institutes (i. tit. 1), "Justitia est constans et perpetua voluntas jus suum cuique tribuens;" and the note in Schrader's edition. See De Am. c. 1, note.

*Huic rei*] This is another instance of the generality of the term 'res.' He says, "since we have come down to such a condition that we must be slaves even to this thing," that is the present state of affairs, with Caesar for our master. 'Huic rei' seems to be said with some contempt. 'Aliorum victoriam' is an allusion to Caesar, who in this year finished his wars by the defeat of the sons of Cn. Pompeius at Munda, in Spain.

em animo esse cognoro, de iis rebus quae hic geruntur, madmodumque se provincia habeat, certiorem faciam. le.

## 13. M. CICERO S. D. SER. SULPICIO.

(IV. 6. A. U. C. 709.)

vero, Servi, vellem, ut scribis, in meo gravissimo adfuisses. Quantum enim praesens me adjuvare eris et consolando et prope aeque dolendo, facile ex eo lligo quod literis lectis aliquantum acquievi. Nam et scripsisti quae levare luctum possent, et in me conso- lo non mediocrem ipse animi dolorem adhibuisti. Ser- tamen tuus omnibus officiis, quae illi tempori tribui erunt, declaravit et quanti ipse me faceret et quam n talem erga me animum tibi gratum putaret fore; s officia jucundiora licet saepe mihi fuerint, numquam en gratiora. Me autem non oratio tua solum et etas paene aegritudinis sed etiam auctoritas conso- r. Turpe enim esse existimo me non ita ferre casum m, ut tu tali sapientia praeditus ferendum putas. opprimor interdum et vix resisto dolori, quod ea me ia deficiunt quae ceteris quorum mihi exempla propono li in fortuna non defuerunt. Nam et Q. Maximus,

*runtur,—habeat,*] There is nconsistency in these two , the choice of which depends very nice difference. "De bus quae hic geruntur" is ut the things that are going re." Servius could certainly said "quae hic gerantur admodumque . . . : habeat, rem faciam," but he would in case have adopted a general of expression in the first er of the sentence, which he voided by the use of the in- *ve.*

13. The answer of Cicero to Servius.

*Ego vero,*] "I wish indeed you had been with me." See No. 11, lib. i.

*Servius – tuus*] His son Servius by his wife Postumia.

*Q. Maximus,*] Q. Fabius Maximus, whom he mentions in the De Senectute, c. 4, &c. L. Aemilius Paullus, the conqueror of Perses, the last king of Macedonia, lost one son five days before his triumph, and another three days after his triumph. (Liv. xlv.

qui filium consularem, clarum virum et magı gestis amisit; et L. Paullus, qui duo septem di vester Gallus, et M. Cato, qui summo ingenic virtute filium perdidit—iis temporibus fuerunt luctum ipsorum dignitas consolaretur ea qua publica consequebantur. Mihi autem, amissis or iis quae ipse commemoras quaeque eram maxiı ribus adeptus, unum manebat illud solatium quod est. Non amicorum negotiis, non rei publicae tione impediebantur cogitationes meae: nihil in f libebat; adspicere curiam non poteram; existin quod erat, omnes me et industriae meae fructı tunae perdidisse. Sed quum cogitarem haec mi et cum quibusdam esse communia, et quum fı jam ipse me cogeremque illa ferre toleranter, quo confugerem, ubi conquiescerem, cujus in seı suavitate omnes curas doloresque deponerem. autem hoc tam gravi vulnere etiam illa, quae coı videbantur, recrudescunt. Non enim, ut tum publica maestum domus excipiebat quae levaret, domo maerens ad rem publicam confugere possı ejus bonis acquiescam. Itaque et domo absum quod nec eum dolorem quem a re publica capi jam consolari potest, nec domesticum res public magis te exspecto, teque videre quam primuı Major mihi levatio afferri nulla potest quam cc consuetudinis sermonumque nostrorum; quamqı rabam tuum adventum, sic enim audiebam, approı Ego autem quum multis de causis te exopto quam

40.) C. Sulpicius Gallus, the conqueror of the Ligures, B.C. 166, is called 'vester,' apparently because he belonged to the same gens as *Servius.* These men are mentioned in the De Amicitia, c. 27. As to Cato, see De Sen. c. 23.

*Habebam*] Her 'vi man virtue, was 'mirific cero to Atticus (x. 8): " illa fert publicam cladem do domesticas tricas ?" gives her the praise oı under many troubles.

re, tum etiam ut ante commentemur inter nos qua one nobis traducendum sit hoc tempus, quod est m ad unius voluntatem accommodandum, et prutis, et liberalis, et, ut perspexisse videor, nec a me ni, et tibi amicissimi. Quod quum ita sit, magnae est en deliberationis quae ratio sit ineunda nobis, non ndi aliquid, sed illius concessu et beneficio quiescendi.

## 14. CICERO CASSIO S.

(XII. 3. A. U. C. 710.)

uget tuus amicus furorem in dies: primum in statua am posuit in Rostris inscripsit PARENTI OPTIME MERITO, non modo sicarii sed jam etiam parricidae judicemini; id dico, judicemini? judicemur potius; vestri enim lcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. tinam quidem fuissem! molestus nobis non esset. Sed oc vestrum est, quod quoniam praeteriit, utinam haberem uid vobis darem consilii. Sed ne mihi quidem ipsi repeio quid faciendum sit. Quid enim est quod contra vim ine vi fieri possit? Consilium omne autem hoc est illorum t mortem Caesaris persequantur. Itaque a. d. VI. Non. )ctob. productus in contionem a Canutio turpissime ille uidem discessit, sed tamen ea dixit de conservatoribus

*Ad unius*] This is Caesar. He as on good terms with Sulpicius, ho opposed his colleague, M. laudius Marcellus (B.C. 51) in his ttempts to deprive Caesar of his ommand in Gallia.

14. This and the following letters ere written after the assassination f Caesar, March 15.

*Tuus amicus*] M. Antonius, hom he ironically calls the friend f Cassius. The conspirators went p to the capitol after Caesar's eath, but they came down after a nd of reconciliation with Caesar's party, and Antonius entertained Cassius and others.

*Judicemur*] Cicero says that he is charged with being one of the conspirators, though he was not. He wishes that he had been, for he would have had Antonius killed as well as Caesar.

*Canutius*] The tribunus plebis Canutius allowed Antonius to address the people, but Antonius came off (discessit) very poorly, for Canutius (who was of the opposite faction) plagued him a good deal; yet Antonius abused the con-

R.

patriae quae dici deberent de proditoribus. De me quidem non dubitanter quin omnia de meo consilio et vos fecissetis et Canutius faceret. Cetera cujusmodi sint ex hoc judica, quod legato tuo viaticum eripuerunt. Quid eos interpretari putas quum hoc faciunt? Ad hostem scilicet portari. O rem miseram! dominum ferre non potuimus: conservo servimus. Et tamen me quidem favente magis quam sperante etiam nunc residet spes in virtute tua. Sed ubi sunt copiae? De reliquo malo te ipsum tecum loqui quam nostra dicta cognoscere. Vale.

## 15. CICERO DOLABELLAE CONSULI SUO S.

(IX. 14. A. U. C. 710.)

Etsi contentus eram, mi Dolabella, tua gloria, satisque ex ea magnam laetitiam voluptatemque capiebam, tamen non possum non confiteri cumulari me maximo gaudio, quod vulgo hominum opinio socium me adscribat tuis laudibus. Neminem conveni—convenio autem quotidie plurimos,

spirators, whom Cicero calls the saviours of the country. The same use of 'discedere' occurs in the Verrine Orations, ii. 1, c. 50; ii. 2, c. 9.

*Non dubitanter,*] The verb is omitted ('dixit,' or the like), which kind of omission is common in the Roman familiar style.

*Viaticum*] Cassius was proconsul of Syria, and the partizans of Antonius had deprived his legatus of the usual allowance for the expenses of his journey. "Ad hostem portari" is rather obscure. 'Quid eos,' &c. may be translated, 'What do you suppose they say when they are doing this? Why, that it is going to the enemy.' The enemy being Cassius, as Mr. Cotterill suggests to me; and this seems the likeliest explanation.

*Dominum*] We could not bear Caesar as a master; we are now slaves to one who was our fellow-slave under Caesar. 'Dominus,' 'master,' correlates with 'servus,' 'slave.'

15. A letter to his former son-in-law, Dolabella, who after Caesar's death on the Ides of March, was made consul in the place of Caesar, and thus became the colleague of M. Antonius. He was, as Cicero calls him, 'juvenis,' about twenty-five years of age. He began by showing great zeal for the cause of the men who had murdered Caesar, and Cicero was delighted with him. As to the future conduct of Dolabella, see No. 16. This man to whom Cicero writes in these terms was one of the worst men of his day.

sunt enim permulti optimi viri qui valetudinis causa in haec loca veniant, praeterea ex municipiis frequentes necessarii mei—quin omnes, quum te summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt, mihi continuo maximas gratias agant. Negant enim se dubitare quin tu meis praeceptis et consiliis obtemperans praestantissimum te civem et singularem consulem praebeas. Quibus ego quamquam verissime possum respondere te quae facias tuo judicio et tua sponte facere nec cujusquam egere consilio, tamen neque plane assentior, ne imminuam tuam laudem, si omnis a meis consiliis profecta videatur; neque valde nego: sum enim avidior etiam quam satis est gloriae: et tamen non alienum est dignitate tua, quod ipsi Agamemnoni regum regi fuit honestum habere aliquem in consiliis capiendis Nestorem, mihi vero gloriosum te juvenem consulem florere laudibus quasi alumnum disciplinae meae. L. quidem Caesar, quum ad eum aegrotum Neapolim venissem, quamquam erat oppressus totius corporis doloribus, tamen ante quam me plane salutavit, O mi Cicero, inquit, gratulor tibi quum tantum vales apud Dolabellam quantum si ego apud sororis filium valerem, jam salvi esse possemus. Dolabellae vero tuo et gratulor, et gratias ago, quem quidem post te consulem solum possumus vere consulem dicere. Deinde multa de facto ac de re gesta; tum nihil magnificentius, nihil praeclarius actum umquam,

*In haec loca*] Cicero was now at his Pompeianum, near Baiae.

*L. Caesar,*] This Caesar, who was consul B.C. 64, had a sister Julia, who was the mother of M. Antonius, consul with C. Julius Caesar in B.C. 44, and now consul with Dolabella; and the 'sororis filium,' whom Cicero mentions, is M. Antonius. L. Caesar was opposed to Antonius; but it does not appear that he was a party to the conspiracy against the life of the dictator Caesar.

*Quum—vales*] This "quum vales" must be connected with "gratulor tibi," "I congratulate you on having so much influence with Dolabella." See Key's Grammar, 1455.

*De facto*, &c.] His great exploits were pulling down the altar and column erected by some persons in honour of Caesar, and punishing the men engaged in this matter, — crucifying slaves, and

nihil rei publicae salutarius. Atque haec una vox omnium est.

A te autem peto ut me hanc quasi falsam hereditatem alienae gloriae sinas cernere, meque aliqua ex parte in societatem tuarum laudum venire patiare. Quamquam, mi Dolabella, haec enim jocatus sum, libentius omnes meas si modo sunt aliquae meae laudes, ad te transfuderim quam aliquam partem exhauserim ex tuis. Nam quum te semper tantum dilexerim quantum tu intelligere potuisti, tum his tuis factis sic incensus sum ut nihil umquam in amore fuerit ardentius. Nihil est enim, mihi crede, virtute formosius, nihil pulchrius, nihil amabilius. Semper amavi, ut scis, M. Brutum, propter ejus summum ingenium, suavissimos mores, singularem probitatem atque constantiam. Tamen Idib. Martiis tantum accessit ad amorem ut mirarer locum fuisse augendi in eo quod mihi jampridem cumulatum etiam videbatur. Quis erat qui putaret ad eum amorem quem erga te habebam posse aliquid accedere?

throwing freemen down the Tarpeian rock; which Cicero calls 'heroic deeds.' (Ad Att. xiv. 15; and Philipp. i. 12.)

*Hereditatem*] 'Hereditatem cernere' is a legal expression, which signifies to determine whether a man will take possession of an 'hereditas,' that is a whole property of a deceased person, to which he is entitled either by the testament of the deceased, or in the absence of a testament, by his title as kinsman. The formal words used for expressing a man's intention to take possession of an hereditas, were "eam hereditatem adeo cernoque." (See Gaius, ii. 165; and comp. Cic. Ad Attic. xi. 12.)

*Virtute*] As to the Roman sense of 'virtus,' see De Am. c. 27. But Dolabella had not even the Roman 'virtus.' Such language addressed by Cicero to such a man is past all excuse. We may safely conclude that Cicero knew Dolabella's character, and thought to keep him in his present humour by praise and flattery. But M. Antonius, who also knew the man, gave him or procured for him the rich province of Syria, and Dolabella changed sides. He set out for Syria before the end of B.C. 44, and he went by way of Smyrna. See the next letter.

*Idib. Martiis*] The day of Caesar's assassination. Though he speaks in such terms of the deed of that day, the conspirators did not let him into the secret. They feared his irresolution. But Cicero was present and saw the bloody butchery.

Tantum accessit ut mihi nunc denique amare videar, antea dilexisse. Quare quid est quod ego te horter ut dignitati et gloriae servias? proponam tibi claros viros, quod facere solent qui hortantur? Neminem habeo clariorem quam te ipsum. Te imitere oportet: tecum ipse certes. Ne licet quidem tibi jam tantis rebus gestis non tui similem esse. Quod quum ita sit, hortatio non est necessaria; gratulatione magis utendum est. Contigit enim tibi, quod haud scio an nemini, ut summa severitas animadversionis non modo non invidiosa sed etiam popularis esset, et quum bonis omnibus tum infimo cuique gratissima. Hoc si tibi fortuna quadam contigisset, gratularer felicitati tuae: sed contigit magnitudine quum animi tum etiam ingenii atque consilii. Legi enim contionem tuam. Nihil illa sapientius. Ita pedetentim et gradatim tum accessus a te ad causam facti, tum recessus, ut res ipsa maturitatem tibi animadvertendi omnium concessu daret. Liberasti igitur et urbem periculo et civitatem metu; neque solum ad tempus maximam utilitatem attulisti sed etiam ad exemplum. Quo facto intelligere debes in te positam esse rem publicam, tibique non modo tuendos, sed etiam ornandos esse illos viros, a quibus initium libertatis profectum est. Sed his de rebus coram plura propediem, ut spero. Tu

*Fortuna—felicitati*] This confirms what has been said in another place (De Am. c. 10) that 'felicitas' is 'good fortune,' 'good luck.'

*Contionem*] This word, which means a meeting for some public business, in which the meeting was addressed by a speaker, came by use to signify a speech made to such meeting.

*Accessus*, &c.] Manutius explains this, perhaps correctly; in your harangue you approached with such steady and regular step *towards showing* the cause of this irregular movement (facti), and then from the cause moved back to the measures to be adopted that, &c. This is one of those sentences which make us feel the extreme difficulty which we often have, in rendering in precise terms the comprehensive forms of expression which Cicero uses. The form of speech is a metaphor derived from attacking and retreating, but the exact meaning is doubtful.

*Illos viros,*] M. Brutus, Cassius, and others of the conspirators.

quoniam rem publicam nosque conservas, fac ut diligentissime te ipsum, mi Dolabella, custodias.

## 16. CICERO TREBONIO S.

(x. 28. A. U. C. 711.)

Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitasses! reliquiarum nihil haberemus. At nunc cum iis tantum negotii est ut vestrum illud divinum in rem publicam beneficium nonnullam habeat querelam. Quod vero a te viro optimo seductus est tuoque beneficio adhuc vivit haec pestis, interdum, quod mihi vix fas est, tibi subirascor. Mihi enim negotii plus reliquisti uni quam praeter me omnibus. Ut enim primum post Antonii foedissimum discessum senatus haberi libere potuit, ad illum animum meum reverti pristinum, quem tu cum civi acerrimo patre tuo in ore et amore semper habuisti. Nam quum senatum a. d. XIII. Kalendas Januarias tribuni plebis vocavissent deque alia re referrent, totam rem pub-

16. C. Trebonius was made consul in B.C. 45, by Caesar; and he was one of the foremost in the conspiracy against him in the following year. After Caesar's death he went as proconsul to Asia, where Dolabella caught him, at Smyrna, B.C. 43, and killed him.

*Pulcherrimas epulas*] "How glad I should have been if you had invited me to that most glorious banquet on the Ides of March" (the murder of Caesar): "we would have had no leavings." Cicero means that M. Antonius also would have been killed, if he had had a part in the affair. Cicero says in a letter to Cassius (Ad Div. xii. 4), "Vellem Idibus Martiis me ad caenam invitasses: reliquiarum nihil fuisset."

*Cum iis*, &c.] "But now there is so much trouble with them, that your godlike service to the state still gives us some reason to complain." The 'reliquiae' are Antonius, who was taken aside (seductus) by Trebonius, and kept out of the senate house while the murder was done.—'His,' some MSS.

*Mihi enim negotii*] The saving of the life of Antonius had caused, says Cicero, particular trouble to himself, for he was the special object of the enmity of Antonius. An expression in the letter to Cassius (xii. 4) explains this: "nunc me reliquiae vestrae exercent, et quidem praeter ceteros me."

*Discessum*] The flight of Antonius to Cisalpine Gaul.

licam sum complexus egique acerrime, senatumque jam languentem et defessum ad pristinam virtutem consuetudinemque revocavi magis animi quam ingenii viribus. Hic dies meaque contentio atque actio spem primum populo Romano attulit libertatis recuperandae. Nec vero ipse postea tempus ullum intermisi de re publica non cogitandi solum sed etiam agendi. Quod nisi res urbanas actaque omnia ad te perferri arbitrarer, ipse perscriberem, quamquam eram maximis occupationibus impeditus. Sed illa cognosces ex aliis; a me pauca, et ea summatim. Habemus fortem senatum; consulares partim timidos, partim male sentientes. Magnum damnum factum est in Servio. L. Caesar optime sentit: sed quod avunculus est non acerrimas dicit sententias. Consules egregii: praeclarus D. Brutus: egregius puer Caesar, de quo spero equidem

*Complexus sum*] "When the tribuni plebis were for bringing on the matter before the senate, I entered on the subject of the general state of affairs;" in the third Philippic.

*Libertatis*] Cicero only means the defeat of Antonius and his party, and the re-establishment of himself and his party in power. It was a question that did not concern the Roman people at all, except so far as one party might administer the state better than another; and nobody could tell which side was the less dishonest.

*Consulares*] Those who had attained the rank of consul.

*Servio.*] Servius Sulpicius, the author of the letter of consolation to Cicero. In B.C. 43, he was sent with two other commissioners to M. Antonius, who was besieging Decimus Brutus at Mutina (Modena). Sulpicius died before Mutina, and on the motion of Cicero (*Philipp. ix.*) a public funeral was voted, and a bronze statue erected to the memory of one of the most virtuous and illustrious of the Romans.

*L. Caesar*] The uncle of M. Antonius (No. 15), his mother's brother (avunculus).

The Romans had names for all degrees of consanguinity, either through the male or the female. Thus 'patruus' was a father's brother. There is a list of all the words used to express the degrees of consanguinity in the Institutiones of Justinian (iii. tit. 6, De Gradibus Cognationis).

*Consules egregii:*] A. Hirtius and Q. Vibius Pansa, who fell before Mutina in April, B.C. 43.

*Puer Caesar,*] This boy was C. Octavius, who had assumed the name of his great uncle, the dictator, and was now C. Julius Octavianus Caesar. The boy in the next year allowed Antonius to take off Cicero's head. After getting rid of his colleagues in the triumvirate,

reliqua. Hoc vero certum habeto, nisi ille veteranos celeriter conscripsisset legionesque duae de exercitu Antonii ad ejus se auctoritatem contulissent atque is oppositus esset terror Antonio, nihil Antonium sceleris, nihil crudelitatis praeteriturum fuisse. Haec tibi etsi audita esse arbitrabar volui tamen notiora esse. Plura scribam, si plus otii habuero.

## 17. M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

(XI. 8. A. U. C. 711.)

Eo tempore Polla tua misit ut ad te si quid vellem darem literarum, quum quid scriberem non habebam. Omnia enim erant suspensa propter exspectationem legatorum, qui quid egissent nihildum nuntiabatur. Haec tamen scribenda existimavi: primum, S. P. Q. R. de te laborare, non solum salutis suae causa sed etiam dignitatis tuae. Admirabilis enim est quaedam tui nominis caritas, amorque in te singularis omnium civium. Ita enim sperant atque confidunt, ut antea rege, sic hoc tempore regno te rem publicam liberaturum. Romae delectus habetur totaque Italia, si hic delectus appellandus est quum ultro se

Antonius and Lepidus, he became the ruler of the Roman state, and is commonly called the emperor Augustus.

*Veteranos*] This youth of his own authority raised a force among the veterans, whom the dictator had planted in Campania, and he led them to Rome. Two legions of Antonius, the Martia and Quarta, passed over to him, which alarmed Antonius, and drove him to seek safety in north Italy, in the month of November, B.C. 44.

17. *Polla*] Polla was the wife of Decimus Brutus. Her name was Valeria Paulla. (Ad Div. viii. 7.) Manutius compares the form Polla with 'olla,' a form of 'aula.' This lady put away her first husband in order to marry D. Brutus.

*Legati*] L. Marcius Philippus and L. Calpurnius Piso, who with Servius Sulpicius were sent on the mission to M. Antonius. This letter was written before the battle of Mutina.

*Nihildum*] 'Dum,' a word of time, is often used as an enclitic, as 'nondum,' 'usquedum,' 'interdum,' 'adesdum' (Ter. And. i. 1. 2), and in other cases.

*Rege,*] The 'rex' is the dictator Caesar. The 'regnum' the domination of M. Antonius.

offerunt omnes: tantus ardor occupavit animos hominum desiderio libertatis odioque diutinae servitutis. De reliquis rebus a te jam exspectare literas debemus, quid ipse agas, quid noster Hirtius, quid Caesar meus; quos spero brevi tempore societate victoriae tecum copulatos fore. Reliquum est ut de me id scribam quod te ex tuorum literis et spero et malo cognoscere, me neque deesse ulla in re neque umquam defuturum dignitati tuae.

## 18. GALBA CICERONI S.

(x. 30. A. U. C. 711.)

[A.D.] XVII. Kalend. Maias, quo die Pansa in castris Hirtii erat futurus cum quo ego eram—nam ei obviam processeram millia passuum centum, quo maturius veniret—Antonius legiones eduxit duas, secundam et quintam tricesimam, et cohortes praetorias duas, unam suam, alteram Silani, [et] evocatorum partem. Ita obviam venit nobis, quod nos quatuor legiones tironum habere solum arbitrabatur. Sed noctu, quo tutius venire in castra possemus, legionem Martiam cui ego praeesse solebam, et duas cohortes praetorias miserat Hirtius nobis. Quum equites Antonii apparuissent, contineri neque legio Martia neque cohortes praetoriae potuerunt, quas sequi coepimus coacti, quoniam retinere eas non potueramus. Antonius ad Forum

*Caesar meus;*] The 'puer Caesar' (No. 16).

18. A letter from Ser. Sulpicius Galba, who was employed by C. Julius Caesar in his Gallic wars (Bell. Gall. iii. 1, &c.). He was the great-grandfather of the emperor Galba. He describes in this letter the battle near Mutina (Modena).

*Evocatorum*] Evocati were veterani, who had served their time and again joined an army, not by *compulsion, but at the* request of a commander: whence they were said 'evocari.' They seem to have been summoned by name from a roll that was kept (Caesar, B. G. iii. 20). This is the explanation of Lipsius (Op. iii. p. 47, De Militia Romana, ed. 1675). The 'tirones' were raw soldiers.

*Forum Gallorum*] Supposed to be a place, now called Castel Franco, on the Aemilia Via, which ran from Ariminum (Rimini) through Mutina to Mediolanum (Milan).

Gallorum suas copias continebat; neque sciri volebat se legiones habere: tantum equitatum et levem armaturam ostendebat. Posteaquam vidit se invito legionem ire Pansa, sequi se duas legiones jussit tironum. Posteaquam angustias paludis et silvarum transiimus, acies est instructa a nobis duodecim cohortium. Nondum venerant legiones duae; repente Antonius in aciem suas copias de vico produxit et sine mora concurrit. Primo ita pugnatum est ut acrius non posset ex utraque parte pugnari: etsi dexterius cornu, in quo ego eram cum Martiae legionis cohortibus octo, impetu primo fugaverat legionem xxxv Antonii, ut amplius passus [quingentos] ultra aciem quo loco steterat processerit. Itaque quum equites nostrum cornu circumire vellent, recipere me coepi et levem armaturam opponere Maurorum equitibus, ne aversos nostros aggrederentur. Interim video me esse inter Antonianos Antoniumque post me esse aliquanto. Repente equum immisi ad eam legionem tironum quae veniebat ex castris, scuto rejecto. Antoniani me insequi: nostri pila conjicere velle. Ita nescio quo fato sum servatus, quod sum cito a nostris cognitus.

In ipsa Aemilia, ubi cohors Caesaris praetoria erat, diu pugnatum est. Cornu sinisterius quod erat infirmius, ubi Martiae legionis duae cohortes erant, et cohors praetoria, pedem referre coeperunt, quod ab equitatu circumibantur

*Vico*] A 'vicus' is a place which was attached to some other place, or 'res publica,' that is to a town of some description. A 'vicus' had no political character. A 'forum' is a place between a 'civitas' and a 'vicus:' it was attached to some 'res publica,' but it had a political character, that is, it was a *corporate* body. (Savigny, System *des Heut.* Röm. Rechts, ii. 235.)

*Amplius passus*] "This omission of 'quam,' without affecting the case, is limited to the adjectives 'major,' 'minor,' and the adverbs 'plus,' 'minus,' 'amplius,' which however may also have the ordinary construction." Key's Grammar, 1055, a. note.

*Aversos*] "In the rear," the opposite of 'adversus.'

*Equum immisi*] "Put my horse to his speed."

quo vel plurimum valet Antonius. Quum omnes se recepissent nostri ordines, recipere me novissimus coepi ad castra. Antonius tamquam victor castra putavit se posse capere; quo quum venit, complures ibi amisit, nec egit quidquam. Audita re Hirtius cum cohortibus viginti veteranis redeunti Antonio in sua castra occurrit, copiasque ejus omnes delevit, fugavit; eodemque loco, ubi erat pugnatum, ad Forum Gallorum, Antonius cum equitibus hora noctis quarta se in castra sua ad Mutinam recepit. Hirtius in ea castra rediit unde Pansa exierat, ubi duas legiones reliquerat quae ab Antonio erant oppugnatae. Sic partem majorem suarum copiarum Antonius amisit veteranarum. Nec id tamen sine aliqua jactura cohortium praetoriarum nostrarum et legionis Martiae fieri potuit. Aquilae duae, signa sexaginta sunt relata Antonii. Res bene gesta est. A. d. XII. Kalendas Maias, ex castris.

## 19. M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

(XI. 12. A. U. C. 711.)

Tres uno die a te accepi epistolas; unam brevem quam Flacco Volumnio dederas; duas pleniores quarum alteram tabellarius T. Vibii attulit, alteram ad me misit Lupus. Ex tuis literis et ex Graeceii oratione non modo non restinctum bellum sed etiam inflammatum videtur. Non dubito autem pro tua singulari prudentia quin perspicias, si aliquid firmitatis nactus sit Antonius, omnia tua illa

*Aquilae,* &c.] The 'aquila,' or eagle, was a small figure of an eagle, of silver or other metal, with expanded wings. It was a 'signum,' or military standard; but it appears from this and other passages that 'signum' was a general name, and 'aquila' a special name. The 'aquila' was the 'signum,' or *standard of the legion*; and the 'signa,' in the more general sense, were the standards of the 'manipuli,' of which there were thirty in each legion. See the note of Manutius.

19. *Graeceii,* &c.] "From what Graeceius tells me." He was a friend of Cicero, who mentions him several times.

praeclara in rem publicam merita ad nihilum esse ventura. Ita enim Romam erat nuntiatum, ita persuasum omnibus, cum paucis inermis perterritis metu fracto animo fugisse Antonium. Qui si ita se habet ut, quemadmodum audiebam de Graeceio, confligi cum eo sine periculo non possit, non ille mihi fugisse a Mutina videtur sed locum belli gerendi mutasse. Itaque homines alii facti sunt; nonnulli etiam queruntur quod persecuti non sitis. Opprimi potuisse, si celeritas adhibita esset, existimant. Omnino est hoc populi, maximeque nostri, in eo potissimum abuti libertate per quem eam consecutus sit. Sed tamen providendum est ne qua justa querela esse possit. Res se sic habet. Is bellum confecerit qui Antonium oppresserit. Hoc quam vim habeat te existimare malo quam me apertius scribere.

*Nihilum*] This word is 'ne' and 'hilum.' It is used in the accusative, genitive (nihili); and ablative, as in 'nihilominus;' and in Lucretius, i. 265.

—— "docui nil posse creari
De nihilo, neque item genita ad nihilum revocari."

The shortened forms of it are 'nihil and 'nil.' The Romans did not seem to be quite certain what 'hilum' originally meant. There is an explanation of it by Festus v. Hilum. The word was used however to signify some very small trifling thing, as a little bit of straw, or a projecting thread on a piece of cloth, or the like. It occurs in the old poets, and has the penultima long; as in Lucretius, iii. 843.

*Alii*] "Men change their minds." They who thought so well of your exploits, now begin to disparage you.

*In eo*] "In the case of the person of all others, by whom," &c.

# INDEX TO THE NOTES.

THE END.

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